

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

The Caerellia of Cicero's Correspondence
by Lucy Austin

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

The Woman of Mystery in Cicero's Life
A Good Friend and Adviser

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The Caerellia of Cicero's Correspondence

by Lucy Austin

THE woman Caerellia, of whom this paper treats, might well be designated the lady of mystery in Cicero's life. Not that she was regarded as anything of a mystery in Cicero's day; but simply that so little is known of her in the present day. Nothing is known of her family connections, or of the particulars of her own life. It is not known where or when she was born or died, or where she lived during most of her life. It seems clear that she possessed considerable wealth,¹ and displayed more than a normal feminine interest in literature and philosophy.² And, if any credit at all should be given to the statement of Dio Cassius (46. 18. 4) about her, the conclusion must be that she was a woman of more than ordinary charm and feminine appeal. For, charges the record of that historian, Cicero debauched³ her though she was as much older than he as he, in turn, was older than his ward and second wife Publia.

The words are put into the mouth of the tribune Q. Fufius Calenus, speaking in defense of Antony, who had been taking a terrible drubbing from Cicero in the well-known *Philippics*. The speech of Calenus is long and venomous (Dio 46. 1-28), and is instigated by strong personal feeling, as the speaker admits (46. 1. 3). This admission that the speech against Cicero is delivered in a spirit of angry retaliation, and its general tone of gross exaggeration, together with the fact that Dio was writing more than two hundred years later than the supposed date of occurrence of the events related, leave the charge of debauchery open to doubt and suspicion. And, since the charge cannot be found to be supported elsewhere in Roman literature,⁴ it has generally been rejected and discredited.⁵

But, the charge of debauchery having been rejected, Caerellia still has power to pique the excited curiosity. Who was this woman to whom Cicero, perhaps more than once, was financially indebted (*ad Att.* 12. 51. 3; 15. 26. 4), and to whom he felt otherwise obligated, referring to her as *necessaria mea* when earnestly entreating Publius Servilius, the governor of a province, to find some time in the midst of his other numerous duties to look after her property (*ad Fam.* 13. 72)? She was interested enough and influential

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enough, also, to be able to get into her hands copies of Cicero's writings before they had supposedly left the hands of his publisher (*ad Att.* 13. 21. 5; 13. 22. 3). There seems to be no doubt, furthermore, that Cicero carried on a correspondence with her—a correspondence considered later to be of sufficient importance to be preserved at least until Quintilian's day (*Instit. Orat.* 6. 3. 112; cf. *Dio* 46. 18. 4).

Earliest Mention

The earliest mention of Caerellia in Cicero's correspondence is in a letter written from Rome in 46 b.c. to P. Servilius, governor of the province of Asia.⁶

Caerelliae necessariae meae rem, nomina, possessiones Asiaticas commendavi tibi praesens in hortis tuis quam potui diligentissime, tuque mihi pro tua consuetudine proque tuis in me perpetuis maximisque officiis omnia te facturum liberalissime recepisti. Meminisse te id spero: scio enim solere. Sed tamen Caerelliae procuratores scriperunt te propter magnitudinem provinciae multitudinemque negotiorum etiam atque etiam esse commonefaciendum. Peto igitur ut memineris te omnia quea tua fides patretur mihi cumulate recepisse. Evidem existimo habere te magnam facultatem—sed hoc tui est consili et iudici—ex eo senatus consulto quod in heredes C. Vennoni factum est Caerelliae commodandi. Id senatus consultum tu interpretabere pro tua sapientia. Scio enim eius ordinis auctoritatem semper apud te magni fuisse. Quod reliquum est, sic velim existimes quibuscumque rebus Caerelliae benigne feceris mihi te gratissimum esse facturum (*ad Fam.* 13. 72).

The other letters in which Caerellia's name is mentioned are addressed to Cicero's close friend and adviser, Atticus. There are six of them, all belonging to the years 45 and 44 b.c. Two of them speak of money or other property due Caerellia:

De Caerellia quid tibi placeret Tiro mihi narravit; debere non esse dignitatis meae, prescriptionem tibi placere:

hoc metuere, alterum in metu non ponere!
Sed et haec et multa alia coram. Sustinenda tamen, si tibi videbitur, solutio est nominis Caerelliani dum et de Metone et de Faberio sciamus (*ad Att.* 12. 51. 3).

Octavam partem Tullianarum aedium ad Streñiae memineris deberi Caerelliae. Videris mancipio dare ad eam summam, quae sub praecone fuit maxima. Id opinor esse ccclxxx (*ad Att.* 15. 26. 4).

Two other letters refer to the fact that Caerellia has been able to get a copy of Cicero's latest work before it has been officially released to the public:

Quo modo autem fugit me tibi dicere? Mirifice Caerellia studio videlicet philosophiae flagrans describit a tuis: istos ipsos 'De Finibus' habet. Ego autem tibi confirmo—possum falli ut homo—a meis eam non habere: numquam enim ab oculis meis afuerunt. Tantum porro aberat ut binos scriberent, vix singulos confecerunt. Tuorum tamen ego nullum delictum arbitror, itemque te volo existimare. A me enim praetermissum est ut dicerem me eos exire nondum velle. Hui, quam diu de nughis! De re enim nihil habeo quod loquar (*ad Att.* 13. 21. 5).

Scripta nostra nusquam malo esse quam apud te, sed ea tum foras dari cum utrique nostrum videbitur. Ego et librarios tuos culpa libero neque te accuso, et tamen aliud quiddam ad te scripsoram, Caerelliam quaedam habere quae nisi a te habere non potuerit (*ad Att.* 13. 22. 3).

And the last two which concern us speak of the part Caerellia has played in the effort to reconcile Cicero to his young divorced wife Publilia:

... Publilius tecum tricatus est. Huc enim Caerellia missa ab ipsis est legata ad me, cui facile persuasi mihi id quod rogaret ne licere quidem, non modo non libere (*ad Att.* 14. 19. 4).

Caerelliae vero facile satis feci, nec valde labore mihi visa est, et, si illa, ego certe non laborem (*ad Att.* 15. 1. 4).

The foregoing letters furnish the only facts to be gleaned concerning Caerellia. Quintilian contributed the information that there existed in his time at least one letter from Cicero to Caerellia. And his brief résumé of its contents indicates that Cicero felt sufficient confidence in the lady's fidelity and sympathy toward himself that he could speak freely and even confidently to her on matters of great personal importance and concern.⁷

Caerellia's Family

DIRECTING the search to sources beyond the boundaries of Roman literature, we attempt to establish, at least in part, the history of the Caerellian gens in Italy.⁸ The task is almost fruitless. But not quite. R. S. Conway, in *The Italic Dialects*, comes first to our assistance. In his list of personal names made up from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* he makes three divisions: A, those names which appear more than five times; B, those which appear not more than five times nor less than twice; and C, those which appear only once.⁹ The gens name Caerellia appears in five lists only. In the names of the Brutii, and of the Volscii, Caerellia appears in list B, in those of the Paeligni and of Calabria, it appears in list C; and in the names of the Latini, Caerellia (and Cerellia, apparently the same as Caerellia) appears in list A.

One additional contribution of Conway must not be overlooked. In giving notice of signs and abbreviations to be used in the work, he remarks: "All forms which for any reason might be suspected of showing marks of a dialect other than urban Latin have been underlined . . ."¹⁰ And the name Caerellia is in each instance underscored. Two conclusions may then be drawn with reasonable safety after consulting Conway: (1) the name is most likely not a genuine Latin one; and (2) the name was limited to inhabitants of central and southern Italy. But these conclusions are not enough.

Despite the statement in Perin's *Onomasticon Totius Latinitatis*:¹¹ "Est autem nom(en) gent(ile)satis clarum tum liberae reipublicae cum imperii temporibus," the earliest reference found to a male member of the Caerellian gens is to Q. Caerellius, legate of M. Antonius, and a proconsul:

Q. CAERELLIO. M. F./ QUI. PATRI. TR. MILIT/ QUAE. TR. PL. PRAETORI/ LEG. M. ANTONI. PRO. COS (CIL 6, 1364, b).

Another Q. Caerellius, apparently a son of the former,¹² is also mentioned in an inscription as a legate of Tiberius Caesar, and a proconsul:

Q. CAERELLIUS, Q. F./ QUI. III. VIR. CAP. QUAE/

PRO. PR. TR. PL. LEGATO/ PRO PR. TER. PR. PRAEF/ PRUM. EX. S. C. S/ LEG. TI. CAESARIS. AUG/ PRO. COS/ EX TESTAMENTO (CIL 6, 1364, a).

Other male members of the gens who can be dated belong to the second or third century A.D., or later.¹³

The earliest known appearance, then, of the name Caerellia, or Caerellius, in all Latin sources is that of Caerellia herself in Cicero's letter to P. Servilius in 46 B.C. Does it require too great a stretch of the imagination to believe that our Caerellia was the first of her clan to live in Italy? It would seem highly probable that her "Asiatic possessions" (*ad Fam. 13. 72*) were inherited—perhaps from someone who had invested in them only for the purpose of realizing rich returns, but more likely from ancestors to whom Asia was their native land. Is it not highly probable that there had existed an acquaintanceship, perhaps even a friendship, between members of her family and the Cicero family for some years before Caerellia, or her immediate family, decided to take up residence at Rome? Marcus Cicero had included travels in Asia as well as in Greece during the years 79-77 when he went abroad to further his education.¹⁴ Quintus Cicero had governed the province of Asia as propraetor from 61-58 (*ad Att. 1. 15. 1; ad Q. fr. 1. 1*). And in 51 B.C. both the brothers Cicero had gone to Cilicia, Marcus as governor, Quintus as his legate (*ad Fam. 15. 4. 8; ad Att. 5. 21. 6*). The correspondence of Cicero, after leaving Rome to assume the duties of his province, reveals clearly that he passed through the province of Asia on the way to his own; and further, that he travelled widely, even back into Asia, after having reached Cilicia.¹⁵

How They Met

DURING some of these visits to Asia the two Ciceros may well have come to know Caerellia and her family. Rome was the capital of the world at that time. The Ciceros were important men in that capital. Caerellia was a woman of wealth. And, no doubt, a woman of ambition also—for herself and for her children, if she had them. It is easy to

imagine that as a widow or divorced woman she would look upon Rome as the place where life might prove most interesting for herself and richest for her offspring. That Q. Caerellius, who might have been her son or grandson, should rise to the position of legate under M. Antony, and then be made proconsul, was no mean achievement for a provincial.

Another point deserving of notice is the matter of the name Q. Caerellius, the first male of the gens of whom there is any record. His praenomen is Quintus. And he is listed as the son of Marcus. In the little that is known of the regulations and customs governing the selection of names for naturalized foreigners (or adopted Roman citizens), I have found nothing to gainsay the contention that Caerellia, after coming to Rome, might have retained either the name that she had formerly borne in her home in Asia, or a name adopted from her family; and that this name, however chosen, was passed on to her descendants as a gens name (*nomen*). Her sons and grandsons might very naturally adopt the praenomina of the men who had been largely responsible for their coming to Rome, and through whose aid they had attained Roman citizenship.

And now, one final point. Cicero, in the already oft-cited letter to Servilius, refers to Caerellia as *necessaria mea*. The meaning of the substantive *necessarius* appears to be very broad and general, including various relationships of family, business, friendship, politics and even that of patron-client.¹⁶ In the case of Cicero and Caerellia we must reject both family and politics as possible bases for the relationship. Likewise the patron-client relationship must be rejected, inasmuch as women are not known to have been included in either class of patron or client. In a later study I believe I shall be able to show that Cicero did not use *necessarius* loosely as a synonym for *amicus*. The business relationship certainly did exist between Cicero and Caerellia, as the first three of the letters cited make abundantly clear. And it was on the basis of this business relationship, I believe, that Cicero spoke of her as *necessaria*

mea. It may have been that this relationship, rising out of a friendship of long standing, was due also, in part, to Cicero's position of leadership in the law-courts.

An influential man in politics and in the courts, and, perhaps, a friend of long standing —how natural that he should be the one to whom Caerellia would turn for advice in legal and business matters. In the Rome of Cicero's time it was not too unusual even for a married woman whose husband was still living to retain property in her own name. So, there is nothing particularly strange about Cicero's request to Servilius to look after Caerellia's property in Asia. But to one woman's mind in this twentieth century it does seem strange that Cicero would have borrowed money from a married woman whose husband was living when there were numerous other sources whence he could have borrowed it; or, that he would have become indebted at all to a woman unless to one with whom he felt very close ties of friendship and business. Certainly his friend Atticus seems to have felt some scruples on the point of his being financially indebted to Caerellia under any circumstances (*ad Att.* 12. 51. 3). But to Cicero there was nothing odd or disturbing about it. Caerellia was a woman with whom he felt perfectly at home, whether in discussing philosophy and the latest political developments, stating reasons why he could not reinstate his young divorced wife, or in transacting business matters, even to the extent of receiving a loan from her.

The conclusions drawn in this paper, I am well aware, rest on very tenuous evidence. But they do, I think, make a close-fitting and interesting picture, if not a verifiable one. Caerellia, an Asiatic by birth, a widow or a divorcée, a rich woman in her own right, came to Rome to live. When she needed advice or assistance in business and legal matters, she appealed to a man whose position in the law-courts at Rome was supreme, a man whose acquaintanceship and friendship she and her family had shared for months, or perhaps years, prior to her residence at Rome. Her name Caerellia was retained as a gens name by her descendants in Italy; but out of

honor to the Ciceros, to whom they owed so much, the praenomina Marcus and Quintus were used by the earlier of them. Caerellia, by coming to Rome, won, if not fame, at least a literary immortality from the correspondence of Cicero. And her descendants secured at least in part the political and literary prestige which she had desired for them.

NOTES

¹ *ad Fam.* 13. 72; *ad Att.* 12. 51. 3 and 15. 26. 4.

² *ad Att.* 13. 21. 5; 13. 22. 3.

³ The verb used is *ἴπολχεύωντας*.

⁴ If it should be argued that the passage in the Thirteenth Idyll of Ausonius: *in praecopsis omnibus exstare severitatem, in epistulis ad Caerelliam subesse petulantiam* (Peiper's edition of Ausonius [Leipzig, 1886, page 218] reads *Ciceronis instead of omnibus*), adds weight to Calenus' charge of adultery, the answer may be made that Ausonius might well have had in mind the same passage from Dio cited in this paper (46. 18. 4).

⁵ See: G. Boissier, *Cicéron et Ses Amis* (Paris, 1886), 94. W. Drumann, *Geschichte Roms* (Berlin, 184), vi, 415. Münzer in *Real-Encyclopädie*, "Caerellius" (10). E. G. Sihler, *Cicero of Arpinum* (ed. 2, New York, Stechert, 1933), 368. Tyrell and Purser, *Cicero's Correspondence*, i (ed. 3, London, 1904), Introd. 41, and iv (ed. 2, London, 1918), Introd. 82.

⁶ Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus, praetor in 54, consul in 48, governor of Syria in 46. Cicero addressed several letters to him (*ad Fam.* 13. 66–72).

⁷ Quintilian (*Inst.* 6. 3. 112) says: *Etiam illud, quod Cicero Caerelliae scripsit reddens rationem, cur illa C. Caesaris tempora tam patienter toleraret—*.

⁸ The name Caerellius does appear later as a gens

name in Italy. See Groag and Münzer in *Real-Encyclopädie*, "Caerellius."

⁹ *The Italic Dialects*, Cambridge (1897), vol. 1, page 9, sect. 12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, introductory chapter, xxv.

¹¹ *Onomasticon Totius Latinitatis*, 1, 306. But cf. Münzer in *Real-Encyclopädie*, "Caerellius" (2).

¹² The two inscriptions appear on opposite sides of a marble tablet found in a cemetery on the Via Ardeatina.

¹³ Perin, loc. cit., gives a rather complete list of those bearing the name Caerellius or Caerellia. The *Real-Encyclopädie* gives a less complete list, The indices to the *CIL* may be used to supplement the above works.

¹⁴ See Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 1¹ (Munich, Beck, 1927), 401. Most biographers of Cicero mention the fact that he studied in Greece and Asia at this period—a conclusion drawn from Cicero's own statements.

¹⁵ *Ad Att.* 6. 13–16 and 18; 6. 3 and 6; *ad Fam.* 3. 6–8; 15. 3, 4 and 14; 16. 1, 2 and 4; and many others. Furthermore, according to Sandys, parts of Asia were just at this particular time attached to the province of Cilicia. See J. C. Sandys, *Companion to Latin Studies*, (ed. 3, Cambridge, Cambridge U. Pr., 1935), 395. In his discussion of the Roman province of Asia he says:

"S. W. Phrygia and the 'Dioceses' of Cibyra, Apamea, and Synnada were added, probably in B.C. 82. These districts were temporarily attached to Cilicia, from B.C. 56–50, but in Asia again after 49 B.C."

^{16, 17} See Doederlein, *lateinische Synonyme und Etymologien* (Leipzig, 1836); Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon* (Prati, 1868); Ernout and Meillet, *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Latine* (rev. ed., Paris, Klincksieck, 1939); and Harper's *Latin Dictionary* (New York, 1879). All support this broad and general use of the word.

—Loci Classici

THE ASS

ABHINC saecula innumerabilia homo sapiens asinum elegit qui comes laboris sui esset. Asinorum sunt duo genera, alterum Asiaticum, alterum Africum. Utriusque generis asini feri in quibusdam campis arenosis desertisque plurimi adhuc exstant. Celiores equis sunt neque captari possunt nisi pulli. Noster asinus domesticus fero Africo plus affinis esse creditur. Primi Aegyptiaci, ut traditur, mitifecerunt atque, quod infelix est, nomen stupidi attribuerunt, unde omnes in partes una cum bestia misera fama stupiditatis pervenit.

Sunt quidem qui dicitent non naturae sed disciplinae culpa asinum stupidum haberi, neque fieri posse ut ullum animal cuius aures contumeliis impleri, tergum fustibus caedi,

venter pedibus rectoris sperni et cauda torqueri soleant amabile, hilare, beatum particepsque volens vitae communis evadat. Quin etiam ostendunt illos asinos feros, quibus voluntas sua pro lege sit, auribus arrectis ferores, superbos celeresque, hos domesticos vero, qui quod nolint semper facere cogantur, auribus demissis tardos, malignos obstinatosque se praebere. Dignum igitur est quod queratur qualis evasurus sit noster asellus verbis blandis admonitus, manibus tenellis tractatus suaeque libidini totus traditus. Forsitan etiam in bestia iam diu contempta nescio qua facultas ad meliora progrediendi recondita sit.

Anon., *Liber Animalium*

Nestor, from whose lips speech flowed sweeter than honey, came from "Sandy Pylos." Where was "Sandy Pylos"?

Where Was Homer's Pylos?

by Arthur Stoddard Cooley

AT the close of their report of the excavations of the Homeric palace on the hill of Ano Englianios near Messenian Pylos in 1939, Messrs. Kourouniotis and Blegen make the following statement: "Far better than Professor Dörpfeld's site at Kakovatos . . . our palace at Englianios corresponds with the geographical indications given in the *Odyssey*; and it agrees with the conservative voice of Greek tradition that placed Nestor's domain in the immediate district of the homonymous classical city and Bay. We venture therefore without hesitation, even in these early phases of our investigation, to identify the newly found palace . . . as the home of King Nestor, the Sandy Pylos of Homer and tradition."¹ Since then one of the excavators, Dr. W. A. McDonald of the University of Texas, has more fully set forth these claims in an article in the *American Journal of Archaeology*.²

The author of this article is a graduate of Amherst and of Harvard University, holding the A.M. and the Ph.D. from the latter institution. He has taught at Harvard and at Radcliffe, and is now Professor of Greek and French at the Moravian College for Women in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. His interest in Homeric questions is amply demonstrated here.

The present article is the development of a paper read December 7, 1940, at Cedar Crest College before the Classical League of the Lehigh Valley. Part of it was presented at the Hartford meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in December 1941. Since the publication of Dr. McDonald's article (see note 2 below), Professor Cooley informs us, the present study has been slightly revised.

"Not until after the first draft of my paper was written," Professor Cooley explains, "did I see Dörpfeld's full discussion under the title of 'Alt-Pylos' in the *Athenische Mittheilungen* 37 (1913) 97-139. This furnished me useful information, but did not essentially alter the conclusions to which I had come. Figures in parentheses after the name Dörpfeld refer to the pages of this discussion unless otherwise noted."

Thus is opened one of the most interesting questions of Greek archaeology, which by many, if not by most, scholars was considered settled a third of a century ago when Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld discovered near the village of Kakovatos in the old Triphylian district the remains of three bee-hive tombs and of a palace, rather unpretentious, it is true, in comparison to what the newly discovered building in Messenia bids fair to be.

When the discussion began as to the location of Nestor's abode is not certain, but Strabo in the eighth book of his *Geographika* (339-352) deals with the question at considerable length. According to him there were or had been three towns in Western Peloponnesus bearing the name of Pylos and claiming connexion with the famous old driver of horses. One of these, in Elis, was too far inland to fit the conditions of the Homeric story, and the choice lay, therefore, between the better known Pylos in Messenia and another Pylos in Triphylia lying midway between this and the one in Elis. Pausanias, a century and a half later than Strabo, does not even mention this third Pylos, though he apparently passed through the region.

Strabo does not state positively that there was any town of Pylos there in his day, though he gives its location pretty exactly as between Samikon and Lepreon and as "thirty and some stades" inland from the sea.³ We shall speak later of this and other statements of Strabo.

"Homerikoterai"

Most of the later writers and poets, Strabo says (339), "adhering to what was preserved up to their own times," located Nestor's capital at the Messenian Pylos, but the "Homerikoterai" favored the Triphylian site as corresponding more accurately to the

Homeric poems. Strabo allies himself with this group and adduces some excellent arguments in favor of their position.

I have been able to find several references to this question in post-Homeric Greek literature. Pindar (*Pyth.* 6. 35) calls Nestor *Messaniou gerontos*. On the other hand Euripides seems to be one of the Homerikoteroi, to judge by his *Iphigeneia at Aulis* (273-276), where the chorus of ladies of Chalkis, who have come across the Euripus to see the sights of the camp of the Troy-bound Greeks, in describing Nestor's contingent of the fleet say that his ships had as their figure-head (*sēma*) an image of the river god Alpheios in the form of a bull. They use the significant epithet *paroikon*, indicating the proximity of this river to the kingdom of Nestor, whose nine towns furnished a fleet of ninety ships. I have found no commentator who has noticed the significance of this passage.

Isocrates (*Panath.* 72) states that Messene (i.e. Messenia) furnished Nestor, the wisest of all born at that time, and Diodorus Siculus (15. 66) has the curious notice that the descendants of Neleus and Nestor occupied Messene up to the time of the Trojan War, and after that, Agamemnon's son Orestes. Quoting the historian Hellanikos, who flourished about 460 B.C., Eustathios in his commentary on *Odyssey* 3. 4 (1454) records the tradition that Neleus, after having fought with his brother Pelias, came from Iolkos into the parts about Messene and founded Pylos, the Messenians having granted him a portion of their country. This passage, I think, might apply to either Pylos.

Pausanias' Account

Pausanias, however (4. 36. 1), tells a different story, that the founder of Messenian Pylos was a Megarian, Pylos, son of Kleson, but that having been expelled from his town by Neleus, he withdrew to Pylos in Elis. Pausanias accepted the Pylos near Koryphasion as the city of Neleus and Nestor and mentions seeing there (4. 36. 2) the house of Nestor containing a portrait of the royal sage, a tomb of Nestor, and a large cavern,

the one sometimes called "Nestor's Cattle Shed," under the hill of Koryphasion. Yet (6. 22. 3) he admits that the people of Eleian Pylos had some claim to having Nestor's town on account of Homer's statement (5. 545) that the Alpheios flowed through the land of the Pylians, the Eleian Pylos being much nearer the river than the Messenian.

Among modern topographers no one supports the claims of the Eleian Pylos. Up to 1907, perhaps a majority followed Pausanias and accepted the Messenian town as the home of Neleus and Nestor, among them Leake, E. Curtius (*Pelop.* 2. 174, quoted by Dörpfeld, p. 105), and Frazer (*Paus.* 3. 457). The last mentions Strabo's discussion, but decides for the Messenian Pylos largely on account of the traditional location of Pherai at Kalamata, ignoring the difficulty of driving over the lofty Taÿgetos range on the way from this Pherai to Sparta.

Among the modern Homerikoteroi, Ottfried Müller is prominent. In his *Orchomenos und die Minyer* (357), he declares unequivocally for the Triphylian site. V. Bérard in *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* joins the group, but identifies Samikon with Pylos. I must mention also Leaf, who says in his note on *Iliad* 2. 591: "The present passage and the localities named in Nestor's narration (11. 670 ff.) seem clearly in favor of the Triphylian, which lay near the Alpheios. So, too, the mention of Alpheios in ε 545 points in the same direction." Leaf thinks, however, that Homer's account of the journey of Telemachos to Sparta is consistent only with the Messenian Pylos, doubtless influenced, as was Frazer, by the night-stops at Pherai. Leaf continues: "Legends of the migrations of the Minyan Neleus from Thessaly all take him to Triphylia . . . it is natural to suppose that, as far as legends may have a historical basis, the Triphylian Pylos was originally the home of Nestor, but that in consequence perhaps of the Aitolian invasion, which took place in the Western Peloponnesus about the same time as the Dorian in the east and supplanted the Epeians by the later Eleians, the Neleid clan were driven southward out of Triphylia and took with them their legends and local names

to the new home in Messenia. Some hypothesis of the sort seems required to account for the frequency of duplicate names in the region. The Homeric poems then contain traces of both the older and newer state of things."

Dedication to Dörpfeld

By inclination as well as from conviction I class myself among the Homerikoterai and desire in the present article to set forth this side of the question and the reasons for continuing to adhere to their point of view until convincing evidence to the contrary is brought forward. Also I am not uninfluenced by my veneration for Dr. Dörpfeld, to whose memory I should like to dedicate this paper.

By deciding for the Messenian Pylos, Messrs. Kourouniotis, Blegen, and McDonald do not class themselves with Strabo's Homerikoterai, but they seem to recognize agreement with the statements of Homer as the criterion for deciding the question which Pylos was Nestor's. By Homer, of course, we mean the poet or poets to whom we owe the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. As for myself I am inclined to accept the theory supported by Dörpfeld that the poet or poets who composed the nuclei of these poems lived in the twelfth century B.C., not long after the events they describe. One evidence of this is that there is no reference to, or hint of, what we call the Dorian Invasion, occurring traditionally eighty years after the fall of Troy, or of the devastation and changes wrought by it. The only reference to the Dorians is in the *Odyssey* (19. 167), where they are mentioned as one of the peoples inhabiting the island of Crete. And I agree with Strabo (345) that where Homer is treating of matters familiar to his audience he is a reliable authority for the geography and customs of the times he is describing, although it is his privilege as a poet to "fabricate things that do not exist"; that is, when the miraculous or fabulous or "fairy" element enters into the poems his audience would recognize that he is exercising his "poetic license."

Let us see then what evidence Homer gives as to the location of Nestor's town, recognizing that Pylos is also a name used for

his whole domain⁴ including eight other towns beside Pylos itself.

Homer's Evidence

In the Ship Catalog (*Iliad* 2. 591-602) Nestor's contingent of ninety ships, exceeded in number only by the one hundred under the personal leadership of Agamemnon, was furnished by nine towns: Arene, Thryon, Aipy, Kyparisseis, Amphigeneia, Pteleos, Helos, and Dorion beside Pylos. The location of some of these is uncertain, but as far as they can be identified all or nearly all are in the district of Triphylia and none anywhere near the Messenian Gulf⁵ or the Bay of Messenian Pylos. Arene is definitely located by Strabo (346) and by Pausanias (5. 6. 2) on the authority of "the poet," quoting *Iliad* 11. 722 f., as on the river Anigros (formerly Minyeios), a little stream flowing from Mt. Kaiapha near the foot of the hill of Samikon, which both thought might have been the acropolis of Arene. Thryon or Thryoessa, as it is called in *Iliad* 11. 711, was near a ford of the Alpheios and farthest away to the north from the town of Pylos itself. Topographers have pretty generally located it on a steep mountain spur west of Olympia, on the site of the later Epitalion and the modern town of Agoulinitsa. Dörpfeld with great probability (115) puts it on steep heights above the north shore of the Alpheios just south of the present village of Koukoura, where he found traces of a prehistoric settlement, and, on a mountain peak above it, remains of a classical Greek temple. Near this point on the Alpheios there is a ford.

Aipy, the "steep town," is variously located. Many identify it with Epeion; some, according to Strabo (349), with Epitalion on the present site of Agoulinitsa; Leake puts it on a peaked mountain six miles from Olympia between Vrina and Smerna; anyone who has climbed to the top of the fortified hill of Samikon will think that might have been the Homeric Aipy; all of these locations are in northern Triphylia.

Some, including Dörpfeld (116), identify Kyparisseis with the present Kyparissia, while others place it elsewhere in the south-

ern part of Triphylia. There were a number of towns in Greece named Helos, and the name is appropriate to any place near a marsh. Strabo (349) locates Amphigeneia in the Makistia district of Triphylia near the river Hypsocis. One location of Dorion is in the gorge of the Neda.

It is interesting to note that in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (422ff.) the poet mentions among the places passed in Western Peloponnesus by the ship conveying Apollo to his new seat at Delphi Arene, Thryon (the ford of the Alpheios), well-built Aipy, and Pylos, which seem to have been on or near the shore and near one another.

In *Iliad* 5. 545 Homer speaks of the Alpheios as "flowing broadly through the land of the Pylians." Strabo rightly argues that this statement rules out both the Eleian and the Messenian Pylos.

Nestor's Domain

If Dörpfeld's location of Thryon is correct, we may take it literally and extend Nestor's domain to the north of the river, very likely including the later site of Olympia. Then the races in which Neleus's horses and chariot won prizes of tripods (*Iliad* 11. 699) may have been pre-Dorian contests in or near the later Olympian hippodrome. Dörpfeld in his *Alt-Olympia* (48) connects with these many crude representations in both bronze and terra-cotta of two-horse chariots and drivers as well as of tripods found under the Hera Temple and in some of the earliest strata of Olympia. Certainly in the lower Alpheios valley and on the sandy shore between the Bay of Katakolon and Kyparissia, Neleus and his son Nestor could have ample opportunity to practise the art of chariot-driving and to win the title of *hippotēs*.

To go back to the Ship Catalog, it has been argued that the leader of the second largest contingent of the Argive fleet mustered against Troy could hardly have neglected the use of the best bay on the west coast of the Peloponnesus, namely that of Navarino, and that for this reason Nestor's Pylos must be sought near by.⁶ Indeed E. Curtius goes farther back and expatiates on the great at-

tractions this bay must have had for Neleus coming from Iolkos on the magnificent Gulf of Volo (*Pelop.* 2. 174, quoted by Dörpfeld, 105–106). But, with their comparatively small ships easily and commonly beached when not in service, the Greeks of the 12th century B.C. felt less the need of protected bays. To be sure, they appreciated their advantages, and Homer several times describes bays of this sort. If Nestor had needed such, he could have found a pretty good one in the Bay of Katakolon, to give it its modern name, in the northwest corner of his domain, while there is a fair roadstead to the south near Kyparissia, and Curtius states (*Pelop.* 2. 73) that the Alpheios is navigable for the distance of 6000 paces from its mouth. We may further call attention to the fact that until they were persuaded by Themistocles to develop the peninsula of Peiraieus with its three harbors the Athenians used as their port the open roadstead of Phaleron. So that the existence of a magnificent bay near the Messenian Pylos is no conclusive argument for the location there of Nestor's capital.

Nestor's Youthful Exploits

Nestor's long narrative in *Iliad* 11 (670ff.) of the wars between the Pylians and the Epeians and his youthful exploits as a warrior certainly fits in better with the Triphylian than with the Messenian location. The Pylians, weakened by the slaying by Herakles of their best men, including Nestor's eleven brothers, had long been treated as an inferior people by their northern neighbors. At length they roused themselves and carried out a successful cattle-raid on those who had despoiled them and drove off their booty by night to Pylos, where it was divided the next day, King Neleus naturally receiving a royal percentage, partly to recoup himself for the loss of some prize-winning horses. On the third day the enemy invested the northern Pylian town of Thryoessa near a ford of the Alpheios, and the Pylians went to the rescue. They mustered at Arene near their common sanctuary of Poseidon, and, starting northward at dawn the next day, by noon they had reached the Alpheios, where they offered

sacrifices to Zeus, the Alpheios, Poseidon, and Athena, and spent the second night encamped by the river, probably near Thryoessa. The battle with the Epeians took place next morning, the youthful Nestor doing deeds of prowess with his chariot. Victory was granted to the Pylians, who pursued the Epeians as far as Bouprasion, the Olenian Rock, and Aleision, where at the command of Athena they gave up the pursuit and returned home. These places have been located by Partsch (*Olympia*, I. 4) to the north of Koukoura.

In discussing this passage of Homer, Strabo argues (352-353) quite pertinently that it is difficult to conceive of the Pylians in one night driving the immense and slow-moving herds and flocks from southern Elis to Messenian Pylos and of an army from the latter place carrying on the military operations that Nestor describes. I cannot agree with Leake, who says that the details of the story in *Iliad* 11 are not really possible on either hypothesis and must be regarded as poetical (*Travels in the Morea*, I, 421), quoted by Monro in his note to *Iliad* 2. 591 ff.

Testing Homer by Strabo

Perhaps the most important passages are the well-known ones in *Odyssey* 3 and 15. 182-300 describing the visit of Telemachos to Pylos and his journey to and from Sparta. And here I shall put Homer to the test and see how his statements fit in with Strabo's location of Pylos. It is pertinent to determine, if possible, the time of the year the poet had in mind, as it has an effect on the length of the days. From several passages we know it was a season of cold nights. Telemachos covers himself at night in his bedroom with the fleece of a sheep (I. 443). Odysseus on landing in Phaeacia after his shipwreck and long swim is fearful that he may catch a death cold at night by the river and so crawls under olive trees and heaps upon himself a great pile of leaves (5. 466f.). Thirdly when Odysseus is in the hut of Eumaios on a night of heavy rain he feels the need of extra cover and tells a story of his experience on the

Plain of Troy by way of suggesting that a warm cloak would be welcome (14. 456 ff.). Finally, when he and Eumaios are starting for the town, the latter suggests that they do not delay, for the chill of night may overtake them (17. 191). If we assume then that the time of the journey as well as that of the return of Odysseus to Ithaca was in the early fall, say the middle of October, we shall meet the conditions of the story. At that time the sun, in this latitude, would rise shortly after 6 A.M. and set a few minutes before 5:30 P.M., giving about eleven and a quarter hours of daylight.

A Journey in October

Telemachos sails from the mouth of the home harbor—there is a deep port there, which I shall identify with that on the east coast of Leukas, near Nidri, where Dörpfeld sets the Homeric town of Ithaca—after dark, say about 7 P.M. Soon after clearing the harbor by rowing the crew hoist the sail, for Athena sends them a favoring breeze, the freshly blowing Zephyros. There is no need here to assume anything miraculous⁷ or out of the ordinary, for Athena, though on board, is disguised as Mentor and does not reveal her divine character until she suddenly disappears late the next afternoon on the shore near Pylos. All we need to assume is a six-knot fair wind.

Strabo tells us (343, fin.) that near the foot of the hill of Samikon was a grove of wild olive trees, the most honored sanctuary of Samian Poseidon, and that it was here the arriving Ithacans found the Pylians assembled (344, fin.). The distance from the harbor mouth of Leukas-Ithaca to this sanctuary of Poseidon is about 85 nautical miles. At a speed of six knots the vessel would arrive there between nine and ten o'clock the next morning, which would have given time for the Pylians to gather at their meeting-place on the beach from most, if not all, of the nine towns over which Nestor ruled. There were nine seated groups, for thus I translate *hedrai* in 3. 7, each of about 500 with nine black bulls to sacrifice and eat at what was probably an annual *panēgyris*. Proceedings were well

under way when the Ithacan ship came straight in to shore—no bay is even hinted at.

On the assumption that the Homeric town of Ithaca was near Polis Bay on the island that now bears the name, the voyage would have been some 19 miles or more than three hours shorter, but the Messenian Pylos lies some 30 nautical miles or five hours' sail farther from either Ithaca. Hence, a literal interpretation of Homer's account favors the idea that he conceived Pylos to be in Triphylia. We shall see later what bearing the story of the return voyage has on the question.

In urging Telemachos to proceed to Sparta to make further inquiries from Menelaus about his long-absent father, Nestor says he may go on with his ship, which would involve a long journey around two of the three southern capes of the Peloponnesus and a land journey to Sparta from Gytheon or whatever was its port, or he may drive by land. Athena favors the latter plan (3. 369), which is carried out.

In feasting and conversation the day wears away and darkness begins to come on, so that Athena-Mentor urges the final sacrifice and a return to the town before nightfall. The account in *Odyssey* 3 hints that Pylos lay some distance away from the meeting-place on the shore, but there is a clear indication in the fifteenth book (193-214) where Telemachos induces Peisistratos to drive him directly to his ship and not past it to the town, and Peisistratos bids him get under way in haste before he himself can reach home and his father have time to come to the shore and prevent his guest's departure.

To Sparta by Chariot

We come now to that part of Telemachos's journey which has caused much trouble and still presents difficulties, the chariot trip to Sparta and return. This occupies parts of two days each way with nights spent at Pherai in the hospitable house of Diokles, son of Orsilochos and grandson of the river god Alpheios. If we take literally the words of Homer, the journey between Pherai and Sparta occupied a long day, ending about sunset,

or in the early fall, a trip of ten or eleven hours. The distance between Pherai and Pylos must have been shorter. The start from Pylos cannot have been before late morning, as there was the sacrifice of the heifer with gilded horns to Athena, and time must be allowed for a messenger to go to Telemachos's ship and invite all but two of the crew to the ceremony. The heifer had to be fetched from the plain and the goldsmith Laerkes from the town. After the usual feast following the sacrifice (3. 470 ff.) the chariot had to be harnessed and packed, so it was very likely 11 A.M. before Peisistratos drove off and the two horses flew down into the plain. On the way back Telemachos is left at his ship in the early afternoon and by sunset the vessel is off Pheal, whose location is quite surely near the north end of the peninsula now called Cape Katakolon. This fits in perfectly with the distance between the sanctuary of Poseidon and Pheal, and with another stiff fair wind Telemachos was easily able early next morning to land at some point in Ithaca not far from the hog ranch of Eumaios, while the ship with his refugee passenger Theoklymenos, whom Dörpfeld thinks to be Athena in disguise, was sent on to the town of Ithaca.

From the places mentioned as passed on this voyage northward toward Ithaca, Strabo argues (351) that Messenian Pylos lay too far south to suit the description and that if Telemachos had started from there other places would have been named, such as the mouth of the Neda. Dörpfeld (119) calls attention to the fact that the journey from Pherai to Pheal was made during the daylight hours of one day, which would have been impossible via Messenian Pylos.

From these two accounts of the shorter day's drive we may calculate that the night-stop at Pherai was distant perhaps seven hours from Pylos. Homer's statement that "all day long the horses shook the yoke between them" would seem to indicate easy driving, as also 15. 192.

Location of Pherai

Now, where was Pherai? That is the crux of the whole question. In the *Iliad*, Pherai is

mentioned twice (11. 153, 295) as one of seven towns all lying near the sea and very far from Sandy Pylos⁸ which were offered by Agamemnon to Achilles in an attempt to appease the latter's wrath. This Pherai is located by practically all topographers as on or near the site of the modern Kalamata. None of these seven towns is mentioned in the Ship Catalog, which is rather surprising, but any troops they may have contributed to the expedition against Troy were probably included in the army of Menelaus, under whose rule Messenia seems then to have been. In the three passages of the *Odyssey* where Pherai is named it is always in connexion with the house of Diokles or of Orsilochos, descendants of the river god Alpheios. In the third passage (21. 13ff.), where is told the story of how Odysseus obtained here the famous bow from Iphitos, Pherai is located *en Lakēdaimoni* and also *en Messēnēi*, which may indicate a later confusion of legends. While descendants of the Alpheios may have moved to the Messenian Pherai⁹ near the present Kalamata, the reiteration of its connexion with the family of Orsilochos may hint at the Odyssean Pherai being different from that mentioned in *Iliad* 11 and at its location in the valley of the ancestral river. There was a Pharai on the Eurotas below Sparta and Pherais (spelled with epsilon) in Thessaly and Achaia. If these are not variant forms of the same name, they are cases of the frequent duplications of place names in Greece.

Pherai at Kalamata

The generally accepted location of Pherai at Kalamata has had a great influence in identifying Nestor's Pylos with the Messenian town. So careful a topographer as Frazer (Paus. 3. 457) we have seen does this partly at least because the distances between the Messenian Pylos and Kalamata, and Kalamata and Sparta, correspond to the indications of Homer, while the Messenian Pherai could hardly be reached in a short day's drive from the Triphylian Pylos. According to Baedeker there is a carriage road today from Messenian Pylos to Kalamata and even on

horseback the journey can be made in about nine hours. But between Kalamata and Sparta towers the lofty Taÿgetos range and the Langada Pass reaches the height of 4250 feet. Anyone who has traversed this pass can hardly have failed to raise the question whether it was a feasible route for chariots in ancient times. In many places the present mule path is narrow and steep, and in passing through the village of Lada one is forced to dismount in the very steep streets. If no ancient writer, including Strabo, has felt this difficulty there is no lack of modern doubts.¹⁰ In his note to *Odyssey* 3. 495, Professor Perrin well says: "A poetical journey, leveling a mountain range. In reality the road was passable only for foot passengers and beasts of burden. The poet could not have been acquainted with the geography of the region." But the poet's description of the Sparta country (*Odyssey* 3. 496 to 4. 1, and 4. 602-604) is accurate. There are other possible routes from Kalamata to Sparta than the Langada,¹¹ but probably no better for a chariot road. It is true the poet gives few details of the drive from Pylos to Sparta. However, he seems to indicate by his words an easy journey from Pherai, with no hint of a toilsome climb over a mountain range, but with mention of a "wheat-bearing plain" (3. 495) which is referred to again in 4. 602. The return journey over the same route also was one where "the horses all day long shook the yoke between them."

Routes from Pylos to Sparta

There are a number of feasible routes from the Triphylian Pylos to Sparta which do not involve the climb over Taÿgetos. Perhaps we may disregard that following the railroad line to near Leondari in the Arkadian mountains, from which a branch line has been surveyed to Sparta, and the present bridle path past Lepreon and Phigaleia to Andritsaina, from which there is a carriage road via Karytaina and Megalopolis. I am in favor of a third way suggested by Bérard and Dörpfeld, which would follow the valley of the Arkadikos River flowing just south of Zacharo and probably the stream mentioned by Strabo (344)

as north of the Triphylian Pylos, passing by Platiana and the ruins of Aliphera¹² to Andritsaina, thence by the route of the above mentioned carriage road. From Dörpfeld's Pylos near Kakovatos to Karytaina, a picturesque town in the upper Alpheios valley, is about 30 miles, which could probably have been covered in the seven hours we have figured for this part of the journey. So perhaps it is not a wild conjecture to assume another Pherai near Karytaina. Dörpfeld does not designate any special site for this Pherai except as in the upper Alpheios valley (121). From this Pherai to Sparta via the present carriage road would not be too long a distance for a chariot to cover in ten or eleven hours. Very likely it might have been shortened by cutting across the watershed between the Alpheios and Eurotas valleys and following the latter to Sparta.

On the return, when the junction of roads near the present Zacharo was reached, one leading northwest to the sanctuary of Poseidon, near which the ship of Telemachos was waiting his arrival, the other in the opposite direction toward the steep town of Nestor, we can understand at once Telemachos's request to Peisistratos to drive him to the ship, to avoid his detention by the hospitable Nestor, and how he would have ample time to get away before the latter could drive the five or six miles from Pylos after his son arrived there.

Thus we have a route consistent with the descriptions of Homer in *Odyssey* 3 and 15, and we do not have to reckon with the Taygetos range, while Pylos can remain where Strabo and the Homerikoteroi located it.

So far the arguments in favor of the Triphylian site of Pylos have been based on the interpretation of Homer's statements. Now what archaeological evidence is there to support these? Let me repeat briefly the account of Dörpfeld's discovery in 1907.¹³

Archaeological Evidence

For some years before this Dörpfeld had maintained in his lectures the correctness of Strabo's location of Pylos and took advantage of being at Olympia in that year to attempt

more exactly to identify the site. He was not satisfied with Samikon, which Bérard favored, because the beautiful polygonal walls of this striking town evidently date from classical times and no prehistoric remains had been found there; it was also rather too near the Alpheios to suit the conditions of *Iliad* 11. 710ff. Nor did he favor Ernst Curtius's location at the Palaiokastron of Biskini or of Kalydona about two hours' distance southeast of Samikon, because within its enclosing wall no rubbish heap and no datable pottery were to be found, and it is too far from the sea; it seemed to have been a temporary place of refuge, as it was in modern times, and not a permanent settlement.

Dörpfeld's Investigation

Making his headquarters the large town of Zacharo, with two fellows of the German School in Athens he set out to investigate the two sites mentioned, as well as to explore the entire region. They started first to visit a place called Marmara about half an hour's ride to the south of Zacharo, where marble columns and other ancient stones were said to be found. Their agogiat was not too familiar with the region and they found themselves some distance from Marmara in the valley of the Kalydona brook. There they learned from a peasant that on a hill between Zacharo and Marmara people were removing building stones. Riding at once to the place they saw that men were engaged in destroying an ancient wall of circular shape, which they recognized as the remains of a Mycenaean bee-hive tomb. Two others partially destroyed lay near by, one having a diameter of 12 to 13 meters. The first vase fragment picked up belonged to the monochrome pottery Dörpfeld had found at Olympia and on Leukas and expected to find at Pylos. On this occasion they visited also Marmara on the southeast bank of the Kalydona brook opposite the hill above the bee-hive tombs, which they felt must be the site of Nestor's town. Marmara seemed to lie on the site of a Graeco-Roman settlement, but whether it represented a Triphylian Pylos of the classical times, which Pausanias does not mention, or the sanctuary

of Demeter, Kore, and Hades of Strabo (344) would have to be settled by later excavations.

Excavations of Bee-Hive Tombs

In May 1907 the largest of the bee-hive tombs was excavated and trial trenches dug on the hill above. The tomb, built of small flat limestones, had a diameter of 12 meters or a little more and the height of the dome was probably the same. The entrance, 2.30 meters wide and 4.83 deep, is conjectured to have been about five meters in height. It was built of larger limestone blocks and roofed originally with great blocks of conglomerate. The dromos, hewn out of the rock and with no side walls, had a length of some 8 meters and a width of 2.50 to 3, narrowing slightly from the doorway outwards. In the floor of the tomb was found a grave about a meter deep and two long and originally 70 cm. wide, but containing only two vase fragments. The tomb had, therefore, been robbed in antiquity. In the entrance, as well as in the tholos, numerous small objects were found, including a large number of vase fragments, amber beads, and small objects of gold, bronze, and ivory, lying mostly in a bed of earth and sand, which contained also pieces of bone and evidences of fire.

On the isolated hilltop some 25 meters higher than the bee-hive tombs and on its northwest slope, sufficient remains of walls were found to indicate the existence of an Achaean building. A larger room and several smaller ones were excavated, having walls built of the same materials and in the same technique as the tombs, varying in thickness from 80 cm. to 1.60 meters. Traces of a clay plaster on the walls and a pavement of clay with pebbles in it indicate a simpler palace than those at Mycenae and Tiryns. In one of the smaller rooms, which must have served as a storeroom, were found the remains of six pithoi, out of which were taken many carbonized figs, while another pithos with the same contents was in the largest room. Under the floor of this last was a covered drain.

Not far from the remains of the palace was found a corner of the fortress wall with three

courses of large conglomerate blocks, one having a length of 1.60 meters. Traces of walls found on the west and north sides of the hill indicated the site of the lower town. On the hill several boxfuls of pottery fragments were collected, but not a piece from classical times was found, indicating that after the destruction of the palace the hill was never reoccupied. Six Mycenaean sherds were found corresponding to those from the bee-hive tomb. Everything else was of the monochrome pottery—red, light gray, and black—that Dörpfeld had found in great abundance on Leukas and in the oldest strata at Olympia. So he was satisfied that he had really discovered the site of the steep town of Nestor, approximately where Strabo had put it, dominating the rich shore plain (still called Pylian in Strabo's day) which stretches from Samikon to Kyparissia, lying about a half-hour's journey inland from the sea, and rising to a height of some 60 meters. Later the other two tombs were excavated and Dörpfeld published them in the *Athenische Mittheilungen* 33. (1908) 296.

If not Nestor's, Whose?

The very simplicity of the palace near Kakovatos as compared with that at Englianos may be adduced as a further point in favor of the Triphylian site, for young Telemachos seems quite at home in the palace of Nestor, probably not more elaborate than his father's in Ithaca, but when he and his conductor Peisistratos enter that of Menelaus at Sparta they are amazed at its magnificence, as was Odysseus when he sees the palace of Alkinoos in Phaeacia.

The question naturally arises: If not Nestor's, whose is the palace at Englianos? Perhaps it is up to its discoverers and excavators to answer that question, if possible, and we shall await eagerly the resumption and completion of the work of our compatriots there when peace again reigns in Hellas. Meanwhile, in view of the reasons I have set forth, I shall continue to side with Strabo and the Homerikoteroi, but wait with open mind, as would Dörpfeld, for new evidence.

Probably the above quoted opinion of Leaf

is substantially correct, and after Nestor was at last gathered to his fathers his palace and town in Triphylia were destroyed by the invading Aitolians or Dorians and the Neleids and their people, as Strabo also relates (359), migrated southward and settled near Koryphasion, taking with them their name and traditions and perhaps the remains of their famous king. From this arose the altered legend that Neleus originally settled at the Messenian site, expelling the eponymous founder, who removed to Elis. Some of Nestor's people are said to have taken refuge at Athens and others to have gone on to Asia Minor. The site of his town in Triphylia was never reoccupied; in Strabo's day the tradition remained and the shore plain still bore the name of Pylian. Strabo located the vanished Pylos by conjecture and not quite correctly, if Dörpfeld's discoveries near Kakovatos mean what he claimed. A century and a half later Pausanias passed through the region, apparently without even hearing of the tradition, and naturally the later ancients and many modern scholars accepted the famous and surviving Pylos as Nestor's. If this is true, we have an interesting parallel to what Dörpfeld thinks took place further north, where the Dorians easily conquered Leukas lying close to the mainland, forcing the Ithacans with their name and legends across to the next island, the Homeric Same. The Samians moved on to the nearest point of Doulichion, and the Kephallenians, a mainland people in the time of Odysseus, occupied the same island, which now bears their name. Zakynthos alone of the four islands of Odysseus' kingdom retained its ancient name.

NOTES

¹ AJA 43 (1939) 576.

² AJA 46 (1942) 538-545. Since the publication of Dr. McDonald's report, this paper has been slightly revised.

³ The distance from the sea given by Strabo, some

3 1/2 miles, is more than double that from the shore to Dörpfeld's Pylos, but corresponds well to that from the shore to what is known as the Palaiokastron of Kalydona and to another site near Piskini, where E. Curtius located Triphylian Pylos. See Baedeker's *Greece*, 1909 edition, p. 400, and Dörpfeld, pp. 124-127 for discussion of the Kalydona site, with a map and photograph. Leake put the Triphylian Pylos on or near the west end of Mt. Minthes. Strabo's repetition of the distance of Pylos from the sea as "thirty and some stades" (343, end, and 350, middle) convinces me that he had not in mind Dörpfeld's site. In the first passage he puts Pylos in the general region of the sanctuaries of Samian Poseidon and Skillountian Athena near Olympia, which seems inconsistent with its location with regard to Lepreon. If it were not for the exact distance given from the sea, we might take Pylos here to refer to the district, as it seems to do in the middle of page 344.

⁴ This may be the case in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*. The infant god driving off some of his brother Apollo's cattle passes Onchestos in Boeotia and crosses the Alpheios to reach Pylos, as he does also (v. 398) when returning with Apollo to get them. Pylos is mentioned also in vv. 216, 342, and 355, and the Alpheios in 101 and 139.

⁵ I cannot agree with McDonald (*op. cit.*, 540) that "it is admitted that Pylian territory extended as far south as certain cities bordering the Messenian Gulf." The only possible evidence I find for this in Homer is in Iliad 9. 153 and 295, where a group of seven towns including Pherai is to be offered to Achilles. These are said to be "*πάσαι δ' ἔγγις ἀλός, μέτα τοῦ Πύλου ἡμίθεντος*," where I think we may legitimately render *μέτα τοῦ Πύλου* as "farthest or very far away from Pylos." None of these towns are listed in the Ship Catalog among those which furnished men and vessels to Nestor's fleet. They seem to have been in Menelaus's domain, and so Agamemnon may have thought he could give them to Achilles.

⁶ See McDonald, *op. cit.*, 539f.

⁷ As McDonald does, *op. cit.*, 541. This was no Phaeacian ship.

⁸ See note 5.

⁹ See McDonald, *op. cit.*, 542.

¹⁰ As an example see Manatt, *Aegean Days*, 383.

¹¹ See McDonald, *op. cit.*, 542.

¹² Bérard located Pherai at Aliphera, but the distance thither from Kakovatos or Samikon of less than 20 miles seems too short to fit the circumstances. For full information on Aliphera see Frazer, *Paus.* 4. 297-300. Is there possibly in this name a reminiscence of another Pherai in this region?

¹³ For the full account see *Athenische Mittheilungen*, 31 (1907) 1-16; also 37 (1913) 108-109.

The Teaching of Latin and Greek in the Secondary Schools
and French-Speaking Colleges in the Province of Quebec.

Latin and Greek in French Canada

by Maurice Lebel

LATIN and Greek are taught in twenty-seven secondary schools or "collèges classiques," as they are called in Quebec. These institutions, which are situated mostly in cathedral cities, are owned and administered by the Roman Catholic clergy, regular or secular. Some of them date back to the early days of the French settlers; the Collège des Jésuites was founded in 1635, the Séminaire de Québec in 1663, the Collège de Montréal in 1767. Most of them were built in the last century. Twelve of them have opened since 1910. Each of these schools is independent and is administered by itself, without inspection or control. Yet each of them receives an annual grant of \$10,000 from the provincial government and is quite free to spend it in its own way, without any interference whatsoever from the government. There is keen rivalry among these schools. All of them are full to capacity.

In January, 1946, there were about 13,000 boys taking Latin and Greek in the twenty-seven grant-aided French-speaking secondary schools and colleges in Quebec; there were also 1,200 girls in several independent secondary schools. All these schools are affiliated with the two French universities of the province, either Laval University (Quebec) or the University of Montreal. If a large

number undertake the study of Latin and Greek (as well as of French and English), the classical curriculum still remains the *pons asinorum* for the majority. Since one requires special ability and a good deal of patience to study language and literature, comparatively few students are able to reach the end of the course and take their B.A. Only 700 boys and girls graduate each year from these schools, and practically all of them enter university to study such subjects as: medicine, engineering, chemistry, physics, applied sciences, philosophy, law, fine arts and belles-lettres; during the past few years, most of them have chosen medicine or applied sciences.

In all the above-mentioned schools, Latin and Greek are compulsory; more than 14,000 students are studying the ancient classics at the moment. The classical curriculum covers a period of six years. The students study Latin for six years, Greek for four years. There are, as a rule, 22 periods a week; seven are devoted to Latin in the lower forms, five in the upper forms; five are devoted to Greek in the lower forms, three, in the upper forms. As is natural, the periods are more numerous for the beginners than they are for the more advanced pupils. To complete the picture, it must be added that the students have at least twice the number of corresponding periods for personal work on Greek and Latin.

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We have asked this distinguished Canadian scholar to give our readers a conspectus of the position of the classics among our French-speaking neighbors, and we welcome him to the pages of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL.

Lower Forms

THE AVERAGE boy starts the study of Latin at 12 or 13 and continues for six years, till he is 18 or 19. During the first three years, in the lower forms, he makes himself familiar with the vocabulary, the grammar, the geography of the Mediterranean and the history of Rome. Every week, he has to do at least

two short Latin compositions and two short Latin translations. He will have also to prepare by himself a certain number of lines or pages of Latin, which he will translate and explain in class often without the help of his copy-book. He seldom uses a dictionary; his own vocabulary, plus his pocket lexicon, being sufficient for translation. As a rule, during the first three years, greater stress is laid on composition than on translation. The boy also studies the history of Rome while his elementary study of Latin is going on; the history of the people is not divorced from that of the language, but forms a sort of background. The history of Greece is studied in the same way.

Greek is begun two years after Latin. The boy is usually 14 or 15 when he starts learning it. And his studies continue for four years. As he is already familiar with grammatical terminology, parsing and analysis, he learns Greek at a fairly rapid pace. As in the case of Latin, he has to memorize a great many words and make himself familiar with the most important parts of the grammar during his first two years of Greek. Every week, he has to do plenty of short Greek compositions. Unfortunately, this habit is gradually dying out, the compositions being out of favour nowadays; most masters do not like compositions; they prefer translations, and it is only in a few schools that Greek compositions are done these days. One may wonder whether this procedure improves their knowledge of the language. At all events, every week they have to prepare short prose passages by themselves, with the help of lexicons or pocket dictionaries; these passages are afterwards explained and translated very carefully in class.

Upper Forms

DURING the next three years, in the upper forms, the boy studies especially the Latin literature of the classical period. Not much time is devoted to grammar. Besides learning an outline of Latin literature, he reads, analyses, and explains a great number of passages from Latin authors. There are four prose and poetry texts yearly. In the upper forms,

more stress is laid on translation than on composition; a grammatical, historical and literary commentary sometimes accompanies the translations, which are usually done with the help of a dictionary. Latin verse writing has lately been deleted from the curriculum, although it still remains perhaps the easiest way of understanding Latin prosody and of acquiring a feeling for it. Some Latin works, for instance, whole books of Livy or speeches of Cicero are often read during the last year of the course.

During the next two years, in the upper forms, the boy studies an outline of Greek literature. He has three texts a year to go through; poets, as well as prose-writers are analysed. There are no compositions, but only translations. These are done with the help of a dictionary. Every week, a selected piece of prose or poetry has to be translated very neatly, and once in a while a commentary accompanies the translations. A wide range of French translations is read. Moreover, Greek plays are often performed in school, and it is not rare to see a dramatization of a dialogue of Plato or of Lucian; Homer and Xenophon are also dramatized in class. Needless to say, selected works of Plato and Aristotle are read and studied.

Latin not Disliked

THE AVERAGE boy is fond of Latin, has a feeling for it and reads it fairly well. We never hear any criticism against the study of Latin. The same does not apply to Greek. On the whole, Greek is not much liked. Why? Partly because the language looks too foreign in comparison with Latin. Plenty of Latin words and constructions are to be found in French as well as in English; but Greek, so to speak, takes an air of aloofness, and is not so easily detected in a modern French sentence. If Greek is not much liked, it is due also to the lack of attention, of energy, and patience on the part of the boys; they imagine its study much more difficult than it really is, and they do not give the time, the care, and the attention that are necessary to master its elements. It is equally true that all the masters do not take the right attitude

towards it, and it is often taught in a dull manner, without any lively interest. Whatever may be the reason for such dislike, it is only the brightest students that are fond of Greek and have a real feeling for it. Alas! they are only too few!

"Little But Thorough"

FAVOURABLE results in scholarship cannot be expected from such a way of teaching the classics. It must be borne in mind that the students do not study only Greek and Latin the whole year round; there are several other subjects besides, such as European and Canadian history, French and English composition, French and English literature, algebra, geometry and natural sciences. Out of a total of 22 periods a week, only seven or five are devoted to Latin, only five or three are devoted to Greek every week; the rest of the time is taken up by other matters. As a result, the masters' purpose is not to cover a wide field of the ancient classics superficially, but rather to train the boys' minds to precision, exactness, clearness of expression, and feeling for style. The students are not asked to read and prepare hundreds of lines at a stretch, but to explain or to translate 25 or 30 lines very well; the work has to be well done, exact, precise, finished. It is not so much the number of texts covered that counts as the thoroughness with which the texts are mastered; the stress is laid on the finished product. The progress may be slow, and there is not much, at times, to show for the work done, but the training of the intellect in the art of thinking and of expressing thought is done just the same. "Little, but thorough" is the motto.

This is borne out particularly in the final Matriculation and Baccalaureate papers. Students matriculate after four years' study

of Latin and two years' study of Greek; the papers, which are set and corrected by the university, are three in number, and last three hours each: a Greek translation, a Latin composition and a Latin translation. The Baccalaureate is taken two years later; that is to say, after six years of Latin and four of Greek; the number of papers is the same as for Matriculation, but they vary in length and in difficulty. In either examination, there is no Greek composition, and students are allowed the use of a dictionary.

There is little to be said about the teaching of Latin and Greek in the Faculties of Letters of Montreal and Quebec. The methods of teaching are, for obvious reasons, partly those of Paris, partly those of Oxford. Only prospective teachers study Latin and Greek at the university, and their number is necessarily low, since most graduate students are no longer interested in the classics; they prefer taking the more "profitable" professions. The two Faculties of Letters of Quebec and Montreal have each an average of 15 students a year, reading for the "licence ès lettres" or doing post-graduate research toward the M.A. degree. To my knowledge, only five students have attempted to take their D.Litt. in Ancient Classics at both universities since 1920. And this year, at Laval (Quebec), there are two students doing post-graduate research toward the D.Litt. in Ancient Classics.

In short, Latin and Greek are taught to a great number of people in the French-speaking secondary schools of the Province of Quebec. But, in our two universities, only the happy few specialize in Classics and carry on the study of the *humaniores litterae*. The research work is usually done by members of the teaching staff. Still, far too little has been achieved yet in the field of classical scholarship.

In our next issue:

THE PH.D. DEGREE IN THE CLASSICS

by B. L. Ullman

Classical Place Names In Iowa

By Pauline Cook

FOR several rather curious reasons, the state of Iowa has a large number of place names of classical origin. The pioneers, more familiar with their Greek and Latin than most of us today, brought with them classical expressions which, as place names, demonstrated the culture of budding communities. Such names also had the advantage of being available in reference books—an easy aid to the problem of nomenclature. Many New York towns, for example, were named out of a classical handbook.

One of the factors influencing Iowa names was the rapidity with which the region was settled. From 1840 to 1850 the state increased in population from 43,000 to 191,000, and by 1860 it was 674,000. It has been noted¹ that classical names occur most frequently neither in the oldest nor in the newest states, but in those settled in the middle period when the rate of westward expansion was at its height. The sudden need for hundreds of names seems to have taxed the inventive capacity of the founding fathers to the utmost. The haphazard nature of their decisions is shown by the way they named towns out of books, drew suggestions out of hats, and even played poker to settle the matter. Sometimes a slip of the tongue or blot of the pen gave localities a name other than the one selected by the inhabitants, and no attempt was made to correct it.

The nomenclature of natural features is likely to be determined by native inhabitants, and adopted by later immigrants and used also for names of nearby towns. However, Iowa is lacking in the more striking physical formations of the earth: mountains, cliffs, large lakes, deserts, and the like; and therefore probably has fewer Indian names. It was necessary to supply words out of the experience of the settler, or devise some more or less

artificial expression.

Added to these tendencies encouraging the use of classical words, is the fact that numbers of settlers and speculators came to Iowa from New York, bringing with them their home state names, many of which were Latin or Greek.

The following list of names of counties, towns, and proposed towns (a few being platted but never settled) includes their origin, where known. If no explanation is made, the words may or may not have their origin in Latin or Greek. One or two are neologisms influenced by classical forms.

Among historical persons are Alexander (Franklin Co.); Augusta (Des Moines Co.), formerly Gibson's Ferry; Darius (Polk Co.?); Euclid (Harrison Co.), having a post office formerly called Rode;² Homer (Webster Co.); Horace (Audubon Co.); Lycurgus (Allamakee Co.); Ovid (Taylor Co., Wayne Co.); Philo (Union Co.); Plato (Cedar Co.); Seneca (Kossuth Co.).

Names borrowed from places are Delphi (Ringgold Co.), also known as Foxtown; Delphi (Marion Co.), later Maloy; Delphos (Ringgold Co.), formerly known as Borneo; Ephesus (Dallas Co.); Ida Co., after Mount Ida; Ida Grove (Ida Co.), after the county; Ionia (Chickasaw Co.), formerly Dayton Centre, the name of the post office at Chickasaw Station; Marathon (Buena Vista Co.), formerly Mayview, after the battlefield in Greece; Milo (Delaware Co.), Italian name of Melos, Greece; Olympus (Dubuque Co., Harrison Co.); Rhodes (Marshall Co.), formerly Edenville. Arcadia (Carroll Co.), formerly TipTop, was named by I. N. Vooris, who laid out the town. He is said to have selected it from Longfellow's *Evangeline*. Attica (Marion Co.), formerly Barkerville after an early settler, James Barker, later

changed its name because Barker fell into disfavor.

Mythology is represented by Ambrosia (Lee Co.); Amazon (Madison Co.); Apollo (Cedar Co.); Argo (Lucas Co., Scott Co.); Arion (Crawford Co.), formerly Lydia, renamed by N. Richards, a hotel proprietor; Aurora (Buchanan Co., Keokuk Co.); Bucyrus (Mahaska Co.), formerly Buck Horn; Calliope (Sioux Co.); Ceres (Dayton Co.); Clio (Wayne Co.), after the Greek muse; Hesperian (Webster Co.); Minerva (Jasper Co., Marshall Co.); Pomonaville (Van Buren Co.); Venus (Plymouth Co.), later Macksburgh. Neptune (Plymouth Co.), was a post office which moved from one farm home to another, and finally to Happy Corners, which changed its name to Neptune.

A few names are intended to be descriptive of the locality: perhaps Agricola (Mahaska Co.); Acquilla Grove (Winneshiek Co.); Bovina (Tama Co.); Castana (Monona Co.); Communia (Clayton Co.), a communal colony begun by ten European immigrants; Lactin (Cedar Co.); Lithopolis (Hardin Co.), later Steamboat Rock; Mediapolis (Des Moines Co.), approximately half-way between Burlington and Wapello; Montana (Boone Co.), later Boone; Montrose (Lee Co.); Rocksylvania (Hardin Co.), formerly Rockwood, later Iowa Falls; Salina (Jefferson Co.); Salix (Woodbury Co.), after the willows in the vicinity; Sylva (Jackson Co.), formerly Pass. Calamus (Clinton Co.), formerly Cal-

mus, was so called from the river, which took its name from a marsh plant in the region. Hedvolante (Van Buren Co.) is said to be a combination of Greek and French. It was apparently the intent of the settlers to name the town *flying abode*, meaning no place in particular, and referring, like Stringtown and such words, to the scattered nature of the settlement. Melrose (Lee Co.) is said to be from the Latin "honey of roses," but some of the other Melroses in Iowa have their origin in Melrose Abbey, Scotland.

Other names are of a general or abstract nature, often expressing civic pride: Absecum (Jefferson Co.); Adelphi (Polk Co.); Alpha (Fayette Co.), formerly Bethel; Cresco (Howard Co.), formerly Shook's Groove, renamed by Augustus Beadle, founder; Cresco (Kossuth Co.); Delta (Keokuk Co.); Ego (Madison Co.), later Truro; Excelsior (Mahaska Co.); Finis (Henry Co.); Fiscus (Audubon Co.); Leo (Fayette Co., Mitchell Co.); Nem Con (Madison Co.), nemine contradicente; Salubria (Van Buren Co.); Stella (Allamakee Co.); and Corydon (Polk Co., Wayne Co.). There were Eurekas in Adams, Greene and Washington counties; also two in Tama Co., one of which later became one of the two Havens in that county.

NOTES

¹ "Our Classical Belt," *Nation*, Sept. 5, 1907, pp. 203-204.

² Some towns had three official names—those given to it by the townspeople, the post office and the railroad

Current Events

APPOINTMENT AT IOWA

DR. GERALD F. ELSE, formerly of Harvard University, has assumed his duties as head of the Department of Classical Languages in the State University of Iowa, succeeding the late Dr. R. C. Flickinger. Dr. Else was appointed to the post in May, 1943, but he has been on leave of absence for war service ever since that time. During the war he was a captain

in the Marine Corps, assigned to the Office of Strategic Services, and served in Italy, Greece, Egypt, and West Africa.

Dr. Oscar E. Nybakken served as acting head of the Department of Classical Languages at Iowa until Dr. Else was released from military service.

—Contributed by Franklin H. Potter

LANX SATURA

The Retreat from Literacy

WE were interested to see in the January number of the *Journal of the National Education Association* that Mr. William Heard Kilpatrick is still revolting against the "traditional school." The occasion is an article (17-18) on the 200th anniversary of Pestalozzi's birth. Writes Mr. Kilpatrick:

First the background situation which stirred Pestalozzi. For some 2000 years before his day the actual process of teaching had changed but little. The underlying principle, developed at Ptolemaic Alexandria in the third century B.C. and still ruling supreme in Pestalozzi's day, held that the school existed to teach the written word.

In practice pupils memorized words to be understood only later, if ever; and teachers flogged unmercifully. The common result in pupils was frustration in spirit, confusion in mind, and hatred of teacher and school. So Shakespeare speaks of the schoolboy "creeping like snail unwillingly to school." One factor to encourage this cruel treatment of the young was the then prevailing doctrine of "total depravity," by which pupils were deemed innately bad and averse to learning, and the rod was counted the only available recourse.

This was the situation against which this great, honest, queer genius, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, revolted. . . .

For some years we have been peculiarly fascinated by Mr. Kilpatrick's technique, for, as one of the leading spokesmen of the anti-traditionalist or "progressive" wing in education, he seldom fails to present valuable material for study in propaganda analysis. Generally speaking, the anti-traditionalists have done a superb job in the field of propaganda and public relations; whether they have been completely honest with themselves and the public is another matter.

One of the basic devices of propaganda, here demonstrated in the paragraphs quoted from Mr. Kilpatrick's essay on Pestalozzi, is

Quidquid agunt homines,
votum timor ira voluptas
gaudia discursus, nostri
farrago libelli est.

the strawman technique, i.e., a facile characterization of the opposition, whether an individual, a party, a tradition, or an institution, based on a judicious selection of such truths as may be convenient or expedient. Such a careful screening of the truth may amount to quite the contrary of the whole truth.

We have had occasion to comment on the strawman technique elsewhere in connection with the prejudices of the liberal-humanitarian historian, Ralph Turner,¹ whose otherwise valuable methods of organization and interpretation occasionally result in remarks such as the following (under a portrait of Cicero): "Cicero was a small-town lawyer who made learning and opportunism the means of advancement in the service of the Republican oligarchy. His enduring reputation flowed from the literary and intellectual expression he gave to that conservatism which masks reaction with refinement."²

A better example of the selected-truth technique would be hard to find. Note, for example, the phrase "small-town lawyer"; Cicero did come from a small town, and in that sense he was a small-town lawyer; but was he a small-town lawyer in the commonly accepted sense of the term, i.e. a hayseed attorney? Again, Cicero was learned, he was something of an opportunist (not an uncommon trait), but how many classicists who know Cicero through his writings, especially his letters, would characterize him merely as a man who made "learning and opportunism the means of advancement in the service of the Republican oligarchy"? As a companion-piece to Turner's capsule biography of Cicero, we might write this of Abraham Lincoln without violating the truth in any detail: "Abraham Lincoln was a small-town lawyer who rose to the presidency of the United States. In spite of his championing of the common people, he served as counsel for large corporations, including the Illinois Cen-

tral Railroad. His success in personal political relationships was greatly facilitated by a vast store of anecdotes, many of them off-color."

All of that is true, but is it the truth about Lincoln?

"Total Depravity"

But to return to Mr. Kilpatrick. With a few strokes of the pen he establishes a concept of the traditional school; anyone who demurs, suggesting that traditional education had some good points, that we ought not to throw the baby out with the bath water, is at an immediate strategic disadvantage; that is, he is forced into the untenable position of defending the traditional school as defined by the opposition, i.e., flogging, regimentation, drill, memorization, and the belief that "the school exists to teach the written word."

Now, of course, one cannot deny that terrible abuses existed in education in the days of spare-the-rod-and-spoil-the-child. But advocacy of certain elements of traditional education does not involve a return to Dotheboys Hall. The writer of these editorial comments himself went through a traditional school system surviving in a more humane age: it was primarily a reading-and-writing education, based on the old-fashioned belief that "the school exists to teach the written word." We do not recall having been brutalized, frustrated, or repressed. True, we were scared of some of the teachers, but we respected them, and today we have warm and affectionate recollections of a number of fine men and women.

Moreover, we have the unique advantage among our own contemporaries, we believe, of having spent some months in exactly the sort of school that Mr. Kilpatrick and his colleagues have in mind. The small country school which we attended in our primary days was customarily taught by amiable young ladies just out of Normal School; the turnover in teachers was rather rapid, due to the matrimonial eligibility of the country schoolmarm. But once, to fill in a gap, the trustees imported an elderly, though agile, male teacher of the old school to "supply" for a while. He kept a razor strap in his pocket.

As we look back from the vantage point of alleged maturity, we cannot help being just a little sceptical of those who point with such horror at the traditional school. Indeed, as we look back at our own childhood, which we believe to have been normal, we cannot escape the feeling that there is something unreal about The Child as the progressives see him: a rather fragile little codger, he seems to us, a brother to Elsie Dinsmore and a cousin to Little Lord Fauntleroy. And while the anti-traditionalists may know a great deal about The Child, we suspect that they are really not well acquainted with youngsters from the age of seven or eight up to fourteen or fifteen. In our little country school, with a teacher who wielded a supple and ready strap, who do you suppose was frustrated in spirit, confused in mind? The Child? Not by St. Johannes Roscidus!

We would not have missed those weeks in the Traditional School for anything in the world; there was never a dull moment. We well recall the day when the whole school, including girls, but excluding the very small fry, was strapped. The teacher, as it happened, had a habit of changing to a pair of comfortable carpet slippers when he arrived at school. On this particular day, as he proceeded to occupy his slippers, he found them already tenanted by a pair of large, morose crayfish (the ruddy kind, with big nippers) imported from the nearby creek. Judging by subsequent developments, those crayfish definitely did not possess the right social attitudes.³

Readin' and Writin'

THE MOST unfortunate aspect of the revolt against the traditional school is the retreat from literacy. Mr. Kilpatrick, as we have seen, holds a rather dim view of reading and writing: "The underlying principle [of education], developed at Ptolemaic Alexandria in the third century B.C. and still ruling supreme in Pestalozzi's day, holds that the school exists to teach the written word." We know better now, of course.

The new education, borrowing lightly from the social sciences, has commonly taken

the view that language is a "tool." Once this verbal shift has been effected, it is easy to build up a new semantic context. A tool is a handy thing to have around, to be sure, but since it is merely a tool, we can pick it up whenever we need it, just as we might pick up a monkey-wrench or a pair of pliers from the workbench. Since language is such a simple matter, a mere gadget, the school should concentrate on more important things, such as preparation for life in a changing world and the development of democratic attitudes. We have heard a "liberal"⁴ educationist seriously argue, and he is by no means unique in his profession, that the ability to read and write is a matter of secondary importance in education, that the democratic attitude must come first.⁵

At this point the present writer feels constrained to remark that the concept of democracy evolved for the new education seems to be just as sentimentalized and unreal as the concept of The Child. Democracy involves cooperation—and, at times, violent non-cooperation. We should always try to get the other fellow's point of view—and then, if his point of view is such as to require it, we should punch him in the nose. Democracy is a hard way of life, much more difficult than its alternatives; it demands hard thinking, hard work, and on occasion, hard fighting; it calls for thorough understanding and deep convictions.

It is also true that democracy involves an attitude, but again, it involves much more than this. In a primitive agricultural village,

or in a tribal clan, democracy may operate efficiently without literacy, but in the vast, delicately-balanced, complex mechanism of a constitutional republic extending across a continent, the social mechanism can operate with the maximum degree of democratic efficiency only if the maximum number of citizens possesses the maximum degree of literacy. We are far from this goal now. This is not the time for the easy way, for the retreat from literacy.

NOTES

¹ Turner, Ralph, *The Great Cultural Traditions*, Vol. I, *The Ancient Cities*; Vol. II, *The Classical Empires*; New York, McGraw-Hill (1941).

² Turner, op. cit. 883.

³ The traditional school as portrayed in literature is a grim institution, as the progressives have not failed to remark. One wonders, however, if the picture is not a little distorted, for creators of literature are inclined to be somewhat introverted and sensitive. For a better balanced portrait of The Child, we suggest the reading of two delightful books by the late Judge Henry A. Shute, *Real Diary of a Real Boy*, and *Brite and Fair*. We regret that exact references for these works are not available to us, but they were serialized and published ca. 1920. The Teacher in these tales was a true old-fashioned despot, but the boys were invariably one jump ahead of him. On one occasion, as we recall it, the boys batted down about a quart of bumble bees and placed them in the unsuspecting teacher's chair. The author very vividly describes what happened after the stingers of these bees, "riggid [sic] in death," brought themselves to the victim's attention.

⁴ The word "liberal," of course, is multidefinable, and rapidly becoming useless through semantic confusion.

⁵ This is but one step behind the educationists who seriously argue that a knowledge of subject-matter is not necessary for a teacher: all he or she need know is teaching methods, so long as he or she keeps one lesson ahead of the class in the textbook.

Note

OPUS LONGUM, MORA BREVIS

To the weary infantryman on the march or on manoeuvres, the 'ten-minute break' comes as a God-given respite. Though the Lord grants the 'break,' it must be Satan who acts as the time-keeper. The sound of "Take ten!" seems scarce to have faded when the raucous "Let's go!!" brings the pause to an end. Former GI's *quos forsitan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit* would need no better proof

of the continuum of human experience than these lines from Statius' *Thebaid* (6. 799-801):

Sic ubi longa vagos lassarunt aequora nautas
et signum de puppe datum, posuere parumper
bracchia: vix requies, iam vox citat altera remos.

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NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 111 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

AENEAS' FLEET

INVESTIGATION of an undeniable obscurity in Vergil's account of his hero's ships has led me to offer a complete account of their fates as ships. No special attention is paid to their route, since its broad lines are clear enough.

Building of the Ships

Vergil tells us not only the original number of the ships in Aeneas' fleet but the place where the timber for them was cut and the shore on which they were built. The wood was cut by permission of Cybele (Cybebe), who had a grove on Mt. Ida which contained pitchpine and maple: *Nigranti picea trabibusque obscurus acernis* (9.87).¹ Servius thought that the Trojans used only the pitchpine: *nam de acere naves non fiunt*.² The ships were constructed and launched at Antandros (3.5f.), which lies at the foot of the Ida mass on the Gulf of Adramyttium, some forty miles south-east of Troy. The number of ships was twenty: *Bis denis Phrygium conscendi navibus aequor* (1.381).

Their Size

How many persons were carried in this fleet of twenty ships? It should be noted that this is only one fiftieth of the traditional thousand ships launched against Troy (2.198). If the one city of Troy with its subjects and allies held out for nearly ten years against this force, we may find it reasonable that even a remnant of Troy filled twenty ships.

There is another indication which, if valid at all, is more precise. In Book x, Aeneas is said to travel in an Etruscan fleet back to his camp. It consists of thirty ships: *Tot lecti proceres ter denis navibus ibant* (10.213). By computing the total number (3700) of followers mentioned in the whole passage (10.166-214) and dividing by thirty we arrive at an average of somewhat over one hundred

and twenty persons per ship. In this way there is no difficulty about the passage: *Massicus aerata princeps secat aquora Tigris. Sub quo mille manus iuvenum* (10.166f.), if we assume that the prince's followers travelled not only in the Tigris but in some of the many unnamed vessels among the thirty.³ Thus Vergil may have thought of Aeneas' followers as having been originally some twenty-four hundred, of whom about eighteen hundred of the younger and more warlike arrived safely at the Tiber's mouth.

First Loss

The first ship which Aeneas lost was that of Orontes and his Lycians (1.113). This was not until the seventh year of his wanderings (1.755f.). Orontes was lost in the Juno-provoked storm of Book 1 in which the ships were scattered. Aeneas himself brought seven ships safe to harbor, or at any rate roadstead: *Huc septem Aeneas collectis navibus omni Ex numero subit* (1.170f.). As Servius-Daniel suggests, these may be counted as three that were saved from the rocks (1.108), three from the Syrtes (110f.), and a seventh that was Aeneas' own flagship.

Next, Venus' augural art with its mention of twelve swans would indicate that another group of twelve ships is safe (1.393-400). This is speedily proved true when twelve missing Trojan captains are seen by the as yet invisible Aeneas and Achates (1.584f.). When Aeneas later on visits the underworld, he finds among the unburied dead not only captain Orontes but also Leucaspis, presumably his pilot, as Servius (on 1.115) saw. Ilioneus, the spokesman for the twelve, says little of their experiences except that they had been scattered and in danger from breakers and rocks (1.535ff.). The ships have been shaken and need some new planks and oars (1.551f.).

The next loss of ships took place in Italy,

but not before four took part in a race (5.115ff.). Though often termed a "boatrace," this was not a boatrace in the sense of the contests for "fours" and "eights" on the English and American Thames rivers. It was a rowing race for ships. There is no mention of attendant boats or dinghies in connection with Aeneas' fleet. The following lines: *Ingentemque Gyas ingenti mole Chimaeram, Urbis opus, triplici pubes quam Dardana versu Impellunt, terno consurgunt ordine remi* (5.118ff.) are perhaps Vergil's contribution to the problem of exactly what a trireme was. Servius had no doubt that the words *triplici versu* meant that all four ships were triremes: *omnes enim triremes fuerunt.* Nothing will be added at this moment to this classical puzzle beyond the observation that the words *terno consurgunt ordine remi* seem to support a theory which calls for superposed banks of oars.

Biremes or Triremes?

However, is Servius right about all four ships? Is not our author singling out the Chimaera as exceptional? If he is, we must wonder how there could be a fair race between a trireme and three vessels less generously oared. In short, did Vergil think of a fleet of eighteen triremes and two biremes (see below) or a fleet of one trireme, two biremes and seventeen other ships?

The race took place on the ninth day of the first anniversary celebration of the death of Anchises (5.104f.). It is part of what appear to be delayed funeral games. Aeneas takes advantage of a short stop in Sicily en route from Carthage to the Tiber to do for Anchises what Achilles had done for Patroclus immediately after the latter's cremation.⁴

The four ships were to row from the harbor to the right of and around a rock, which thus takes the place of the *meta* in the Roman circus, and then back to harbor. First Gyas, who was leading, pushed his pilot Menoetes overboard when the latter cautiously steered well clear of the rock only to see a rival cut inside and pass him. The "dropped" pilot swims to the rock (5.179f.). He is soon justified since Sergestus' ship does run aground

(5.204ff.). Moreover, the captain's own steering loses the Chimaera even second place, which goes to Mnestheus, who, after a poor start, might even have rowed a dead heat with Cloanthus. The latter, however, prays to the sea-gods and gets a timely push from Portunus, which takes him home first.⁵ The order of finishing is thus Cloanthus, Mnestheus and Gyas.

Sergestus, out of the race, finally got his ship off the rocks with great skill (*multa vix arte* 5.270), shown, presumably, in the use of poles and boathooks (*contos* and *trudes* 5.208). Though its bow is damaged (5.206) and oars have been lost (5.271), the ship is still seaworthy and makes harbor under sail (5.281). It is pleasant to suppose that Gyas' marooned pilot clambered aboard the stranded Centaur and worked a passage home. Vergil hardly intended to leave him there for all time but, perhaps characteristically, left the reader to imagine how he got ashore. This passage could be added to the many given by G. E. Duckworth in his article, "Suspense in Ancient Epic."⁶

The Fire

Not far from Mt. Eryx (*Quid repetam exustas Erycino in litore classes*, 10.36) Juno inspired the weary Trojan matrons to set fire to their ships.⁷ Thanks to Aeneas' prayer and a ready response by Jupiter only four ships became total losses: *semiuista madescunt Robora; restinctus donec vapor omnes, et omnes, Quattuor amissis, servatae a peste carinae* (5.697ff.). Aeneas has now only fifteen ships, having previously lost that of Orontes in the storm. Some at least need refitting as damage has been done to thwarts (*transtra*), oars, rigging (*rudentes*), and to parts of hulls (5.752f.). If Sergestus' ship survived the fire, its sea damage was no doubt lumped with its fire damage.

There is a much worse problem than that of refitting. How can the complements of nineteen ships (since few, if any, were saved from Orontes' ships)⁸ fit into fifteen? The prophetic Nautes proposes that the discouraged and unwarlike be left in Sicily. They will found the city afterwards called Segesta by

the Romans and by the Greeks Egesta and call it after king Acestes (5.718).

Italy

Aeneas reached the Tiber without further loss of ships, Neptune being content to take chief-pilot Palinurus instead of the whole fleet (5.814f.). Two biremes were then selected to carry Aeneas from the river-mouth to the Palatine Hill, then called Pallanteum and the site of an Arcadian settlement (8.79f.). These are no doubt the *Phrygias biremes* (1.182) since, all the ships being Phrygian in origin, the noun, not the adjective, must be the important word. Other ships are distinguished by the names of their captains, these by their build. They are probably the only biremes in the fleet. They are "tall" ships (*celsas . . . rates*, 8.107). Is the adjective ornamental or does it distinguish these biremes from other, smaller ships? Servius plumps for the latter, though he may seem thus to contradict his stand on triremes (see above).

There is still the possibility that Servius was right in his comment on the race and that the typical ship was a trireme. In that case, the biremes could have been selected because of their shallower draft, since Aeneas was venturing up an as yet unsounded river. It has often occurred to the writer that Vergil possibly pictured Aeneas as turning off the Tiber and passing a short way up the stream afterwards canalized in the Cloaca Maxima and passing under the Velabrum.⁹ If so, the ships would be tall in comparison to their surroundings, the usual growth found beside a shallow, marshy stream. This would be the *nemus* in line 8.108.

On their way to the site of Rome the biremes enjoyed the favor of Father Tiber, who neutralized his current to save the crews the labor of rowing upstream (8.86ff.). When Aeneas left Pallanteum for Etruria, he took the most warlike of their crews off these two ships. Carrying the remainder they float at their ease down the Tiber to tell the young Ascanius how things stand with his father (8.548ff.). This is the last we hear of the two biremes.

The Metamorphosis

In Book ix we find Turnus about to attack the Trojan ships, as Juno's emissary, Allecto, had suggested to him, as far back as line 431 of Book vii. The ships were lying beside the Trojan camp protected by ramparts and the waters of a stream (9.69f.). Vergil now tells of a prayer made by Cybele when they were being built, a prayer that they should not perish in the ordinary way of ships (9.90ff.). Jupiter acceded to this in part and swore by the waters of Styx that those of the ships which should carry Aeneas to Italy (*quaecumque evaserit undis Dardaniumque ducem Laurentia vixerit arva* 9.99f.) should lose their mortal shape and be turned into sea-goddesses like the Nereids. Accordingly, before Turnus can reach the ships with his torches, the Great Mother bids them break away and become goddesses of the sea (9.116f.). They break their moorings, plunge bow first to the bottom, and re-emerge as so many nymphs: *Hinc virgineae (mirabile monstrum) Reddunt se totidem facies pontoque feruntur* (9.119ff.). Juno later (10.83) objects to this metamorphosis, which is harmless to her cause, the ships as ships being lost to Aeneas, and wrongly blames Venus for it.

An Inconsistency

Vergil makes it plain that all the ships that were at the camp became goddesses but does not give a precise number. Were the two biremes among them? If not, what was their fate? Here are a number of possibilities. (1) the biremes had arrived and were metamorphosed with the other ships. Why, then, had their skeleton crews neglected to bring Aeneas' message to Ascanius? (2) The biremes were still floating down the Tiber but were metamorphosed there at the same instant as the rest. If so, what became of their crews? (3) The biremes were on the Tiber but were not metamorphosed and turned up later. If so, why did they take so long about a short trip and why is Vergil silent about their eventual arrival? (4) Vergil forgot about them.

To decide among these possibilities it will be helpful to consider the following events. The day after Aeneas gets to Pallanteum, he is

up at dawn, holds a conference with King Evander, celebrates a sacrifice and then sends off the biremes with their skeleton-crews. Not before the next day, at the very earliest, Iris tells Turnus that Aeneas is deep in Etruria: *extremas Cotyti penetravit ad urbes* (9.10). It must be daylight or else the rainbow would not be visible (9.15). It is later that day that Turnus is about to burn the ships and the metamorphosis takes place. Nearly a full day, at the least reckoning, has passed since Aeneas sent off his biremes. This would be ample time for them to get to the camp.

However night soon falls and sentinels are posted by both sides (9.159ff. and 174ff.). Fairly close to drawn of the next day Ascanius and his counsellors still have no word of Aeneas, for they encourage Nisus and Euryalus to try to find their way through the enemy lines to Pallanteum (9.241). Close to forty-eight hours must have passed since the biremes left Pallanteum and, if they have not been metamorphosed, they should have arrived with Aeneas' message long ago. The conclusion that Vergil is guilty of an inconsistency seems inescapable.

That same day, after Nisus and Euryalus fail, betrayed by the unfriendly dawn (*inimica lux*, 9.355), bitter fighting takes place and it is not until the following night that Aeneas is stated to be at sea with his Etruscan fleet of thirty ships (10.213). His former ships, now sea-goddesses, help him along. As thirty ships would be two apiece for fifteen nymphs, it would seem as though Vergil had the impression that there were fifteen ships which underwent metamorphosis. Perhaps this should not be pressed as we are not to think of each nymph as swimming steadily along pushing a ship with either hand. Instead each ship was given a good shove forward in the same way that Portunus had assisted Cloanthus in the race: *Dixerat: et dextera discedens inpulit altam, Haud ignara modi, puppim* (10.246f.).

There are two other indications that Vergil thought of all fifteen ships accounted for, presumably together. Immediately after the metamorphosis Turnus, who certainly knew how many ships Aeneas brought to Italy,

speaks as though all are accounted for: *Ergo maria invia Teucris* (9.130). Then King Latinus suggests building a new fleet for Aeneas to get him out of Italy: *Bis denas Italo texamus robore naves, Seu plures complere valent* (11.326f.). Servius-Daniel, who knows that Aeneas had lost five ships before getting to Italy, wonders how Latinus came to hit upon twenty ships. Both points would suggest that Vergil thought of Aeneas as having lost *all* his ships.

The reader who struggles towards a reasonable interpretation of the evidence which has just been briefly stated may be tempted to wish that the ancient editors had left out but one line: *Nuntia ventura Ascanio rerumque patrisque* (8.550). However, even without this precise lead, some one would sooner or later have asked, "What happened to the biremes? They could have got to the camp in ample time to tell of Aeneas' movements and prevent the foolhardy exploit of Nisus and Euryalus. Why did they not?" In short, the reader may find the heading of this section justified.

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¹ Unless otherwise stated references are to the *Aeneid*. The text is that of A. Sidgwick's edition, P. Vergili Maronis Opera, Vol. I, Cambridge 1890.

² References to Servius and Servius-Daniel (the text printed in italics by Thilo and Hagen) are to their comments on the line in question, unless otherwise indicated.

³ *Mille* is a poetic exaggeration according to Sidgwick, Vol. II (Cambridge, 1890) *ad loc.*

⁴ *Iliad*, Book xxiii.

⁵ The Heroic Age's equivalent for the "Ten" strokes the modern coxswain calls for.

⁶ TAPhA 62 (1931) 120-140, especially 140. Servius repeatedly describes things left to the reader's imagination as *καὶ τὸ σωτῆρον*. Menoetes's survival cannot be deduced from the fact that a Menoetes is slain much later on: *Et iuvenem exosum nequ quam bella Menoeten* (12.517). The same man cannot be *iam senior* (5.179) and *iuvenis*.

⁷ Other authorities, possibly Varro or Cato since both are often mentioned by Servius, placed the burning at Caieta which they derived *ἀπὸ ποῦ καῆται*. See Servius *ad loc.*

⁸ Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto (1.118).

⁹ This suggestion is not emphasized. The Velabrum is not even mentioned by W. Warde Fowler in his *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, Oxford, 1917.

HINTS FOR TEACHERS

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TEACHING THE USE OF THE REFLEXIVE

THIS article was conceived while the College Entrance Examination Board was still giving the old type of Latin examinations and, though there is some question whether the Board will return to this form of examination after the war, the recommendations made in this paper seem useful regardless of the type of examination that the pupil is forced to meet. My delay in publishing it has been due to my desire to try out the use of the rule in my own classes. Because of my success with its use, I am prompted to submit it for publication even though it may seem out of date to many teachers.

In preparing boys of fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen years of age for the College Board Examinations, I have found that one of the most difficult constructions for them to grasp is the proper use of the reflexive pronoun or adjective. I do not believe that the average teacher realizes how often they are used incorrectly unless he has spent some years in reading the College Board Examinations. Even the direct reflexive that should give no great trouble is used improperly time and again. In correcting examinations the readers use a long sheet of paper on which they can enter twenty-five to thirty sets of marks. One year the College Board Examination had the following sentence: "I will let you go," said his father, "if you will swear never to enter into friendship with the Romans." On one of my sheets not a single boy had translated his correctly. Furthermore, in the rules for the use of the indirect reflexive the grammars are so indefinite that young students can hardly be blamed for being at a loss for the correct pronoun. The grammars state that in indirect statements, indirect questions, and purpose clauses, whenever the subordinate clause expresses the thoughts, words, or feelings of the

subject of the main verb, the reflexive is regularly used to refer to the subject of the main verb. I recall a sentence given on the College Board Examination some years ago which ran as follows: "But Cicero knew that Pompey could control himself and keep his men from devastating the country." The correct translation of *himself* is, of course, *se* and yet, if a boy followed the rule as found in the grammars, he would write *eum*. A good many boys did use *eum*, whether through ignorance or in an attempt to follow the rule, I do not know. I do know, however, that they were given no credit whatever unless they used *se*.

I have felt for some time that many readers, especially those who do not teach younger boys, fail to realize that many of the niceties and nuances of Latin are not easily comprehended by the average boy in his early teens and that these details must be acquired by careful and exacting study over a period of years. Also, many readers do not appreciate the strain that the students are under when they take the College Board Examinations. The pupils know that their work for the whole year is to be judged by one paper. Readers see many instances of this on the examinations. On the June, 1939, College Board Examination in Latin 2, one of the questions was: "Discuss briefly Caesar's qualifications as a General." A goodly number of boys attempted to do this in Latin. Several times I have come across the papers of students who have attempted to write out the Latin 2, Latin 3, and Latin 4 papers because they have not read the instructions properly. As an extreme case, there was one boy so upset that he wrote his English examination in French. For these reasons I believe it is better for boys to have very definite and concrete rules. Even if a rule is long and hard,

boys can be required to learn it. This knowledge gives them confidence in writing their examinations.

A few years ago, with this in mind, I attempted to draw up a rule to guide the boys in their use of the reflexive pronoun. In working out the rule I confined myself to the first four books of Caesar's *Gallic War*, except in those cases where there were too few examples in these books to make the results conclusive. In these cases I included the last three books also. I restricted myself to this limited field because I felt that, in reading the first four books of Caesar, the pupil comes to grips with this construction for the first time. Also, I have found that, since so much of Cicero's work that is read in preparatory schools is written in the first person, it does not offer many examples of its use. It should be borne in mind that this rule has been drawn primarily to guide the student in translating English into Latin and does not profess to cover every use of the reflexive that will be found in Caesar. In fact, Caesar uses the reflexive pronoun in some sentences that can not be covered by any rule. Consider the following sentences, for example:

[Ariovistus respondit:] Magnam Caesarem in iuriam facere qui suo adventu vctigalia sibi deteriora faceret (1.36.4).

[Ariovistus respondit:] Quod sibi Caesar de-nuntiaret, se Aeduorum iniurias non neglecturum, neminem secum sine sua pernicie contendisse (1.36.6).

[Ariovistus legatos mittit:] Velle se . . . agere cum eo; uti . . . e suis legatis aliquem ad se mitteret (1.47.1).

From my experience I feel sure that a boy would be marked wrong if he used the reflexive pronoun as Caesar had done in these examples.

For teachers, therefore, who have been at a loss how best to teach the use of the reflexive pronoun, I recommend the following rule:

DIRECT REFLEXIVE

In all independent clauses and in subordinate clauses that do not express the thoughts, words, or feelings of the subject of the main verb, use the reflexive pronoun or adjective to

refer to the subject of the sentence or clause in which it stands.

a. There is one¹ exception to this rule. There are certain verbs that are regularly construed with a reflexive pronoun (*se recipere, se coniungere, se tenere*, etc.) When one of these idioms occurs, use the reflexive pronoun regardless of the subject of the verb.

. . . neque sui colligendi hostibus facultatem (nostr) relinquunt (3.6.1).

. . . ac sui recipiendi facultas dabatur (3.4.4).

. . . ut quam minimum spati ad se colligendos . . . Romanis daretur (3.19.1).

INDIRECT REFLEXIVE

1. In the main clause of an indirect statement, use a reflexive pronoun or adjective to refer to the subject of the main verb with the following exceptions:

a. When the subject of the infinitive is especially emphasized—for example, if it is a proper noun, use the reflexive to refer to the subject of the infinitive.

[Ariovistus respondit:] . . . item populum Romanum victis non ad alterius praescriptum, sed ad suum arbitrium, imperare consuesse (1.36.1).

. . . [Caesar] inveniebat ex captivis . . . omnes Nervios consedisse adventumque ibi Romanorum exspectare una cum Atrebatis et Viromanduis, finitimis suis . . . (2.16.3).

Pro his Diviciacus . . . facit verba: Bellovacos . . . impulsos ab suis principibus . . . (2.14.1).

Even in these cases, however, when the meaning is clear, use the reflexive to refer to the subject of the verb governing the indirect statement.

. . . quod timore perterritos Romanos discedere a se existimarent . . . (1.23.3).

[Remi dixerunt:] Suessiones suos esse finitimos . . . (2.4.6).

[Ariovistus respondit:] . . . non sese Gallis, sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse . . . (1.44.3).

b. When an indirect statement is included within an indirect statement, use a reflexive pronoun in the second indirect statement to refer to the subject of the first infinitive and not to the subject of the main verb.

[Locutus est pro his Diviciacus Aeduus:] (Aeduos) . . . coactos esse: . . . iure iurando civi-

tatem obstringere sese neque obsides repetituros . . . (1.31.7).

. . . quidam ex militibus decimae legionis dixit: . . . (Caesarem) pollicitum se in cohortis praetoriae loco decimam legionem habiturum . . . (1.42.6).

[Remi dixerunt:] . . . Paemanos . . . arbitrari se posse armare ad xl milia (2.4.10).

. . . sic (Caesar) reperiebat . . . (Nervios) confirmare sese neque legatos misuros . . . (2.15.6).

c. Keep in mind the rule mentioned above, that verbs regularly construed with a reflexive use the reflexive regardless of other rules.

Ubi eum castris se tenere Caesar intellexit . . . (1.49.1).

. . . neque sibi homines feros ac barbaros temperatuos existimabat . . . (1.33.4).

Ad haec Caesar respondit: se . . . eorum civitatem conservaturum, si . . . se dedissent . . . (2.32.1).

2. In indirect questions, with the exceptions noted above, the reflexive is used as in the main clause of an indirect statement.

. . . et ostendit, quae separatis quisque de eo apud se dixerit . . . (1.19.4).

. . . quid sui consilii sit, ostendit . . . (1.21.2).

Sibi autem mirum videri quid in sua Gallia . . . aut Caesari aut omnino populo Romano negotii esset . . . (1.34.4).

3. In Substantive Clauses of Purpose:

a. After *peto*, *rogo*, *impero*, *mando* and *oro*, with the exceptions noted above, use the indirect reflexive.

. . . ne propius se castra moveret, petierunt . . . (4.9.1).

His mandavit, ut, quae diceret Ariovistus, cognoscerent et ad se referrent . . . (1.47.5).

. . . magnopere orabant ut sibi auxilium ferret . . . (4.16.5).

b. After *hortor*, *cohortor* and *persuadeo*, do not use the indirect reflexive.

. . . civitati persuasit ut de finibus suis . . . exirent (1.2.1).

. . . persuadet Castico . . . ut regnum in civitate sua occuparet . . . (1.3.3).

Persuadent Rauracis et Tulingis et Latobrigis, finitimus, uti . . . oppidis suis vicisque exustis, una cum eis profiscantur . . . (1.5.4).

Milites . . . cohortatus . . . uti suae pristinae virtutis memoriam retinerent . . . (2.21.2).

. . . hortatur ut . . . suas iniurias persequantur . . . (7.38.10).

4. In subordinate clauses in indirect statements and in pure purpose clauses, follow the rule for the main clause in indirect statements.

[Diviciacus dixit:] Scire se illa esse vera, nec quemquam ex eo plus quam se doloris capere, propterea quod . . . per se crevisset . . . (1.20.2).

. . . (Iccius) nuntios ad eum mittit: Nisi subsidium sibi submittatur, sese diutius sustinere non posse (2.6.4).

. . . quorum si principes ac senatus sibi iure iurando fidem fecisset, ea condicione quae a Caesare ferretur se usuros ostendebant . . . (4.11.3).

. . . tormenta collocavit ne . . . hostes . . . suos circumvenire possent . . . (2.8.4).

Remember, however, that, if unusual emphasis is placed on the subject of the subordinate clause, in most cases by the use of a proper noun, the reflexive may refer to the subject of the subordinate clause instead of the subject of the main verb.

[principes dixerunt:] . . . tamen eam rem non minus ex usu Galliae quam populi Romani accidisse; propterea quod . . . domos suas Helvetii reliquerint . . . (1.30.2-3).

[Caesar dixit:] denique hos esse eosdem [Germanos] quibuscum saepenumero Helvetii congressi, non solum in suis sed etiam in illorum finibus, plerumque superarint . . . (1.40.7).

[Caesar dixit:] Id fieri posse, si suas copias Haedui in fines Belluvacorum introduxerint . . . (2.5.3).

Id ea maxime ratione fecit . . . ne . . . Germani . . . e suis finibus in Helvetiorum fines transirent . . . (1.28.4).

5. In clauses in which an objective infinitive occurs, the reflexive is regularly used to refer to the subject of the verb governing the objective infinitive.

Allobrogibus sese vel persuasuros . . . existimabant vel vi coacturos, ut per suos fines eos ire paterentur . . . (1.6.3).

. . . et a Sequanis impetrat ut per fines suos Helvetios ire patientur . . . (1.9.4).

6. Finally, whenever the rule calls for the use

of the reflexive and its use would make the meaning of the sentence ambiguous, or, whenever you are in doubt whether to make the reflexive refer to the subject of the main verb or to the subject of the infinitive, use *ipse*.

... (Caesar) certior factus hostes . . . conse-
disse milia passum ab ipsis castris octo . . .
(1.21.1).

... Ariovistus respondit: si quid ipsi a Caesare
opus esset . . . (1.34.2).

... non se hostem vereri, sed angustias itineris
et magnitudinem silvarum, quae intercederent
inter ipsis atque Ariovistum . . . timere dicebant
... (1.39.6).

Some teachers may be appalled at the length of the rule, but, in giving it to a class, I make it much briefer. I have separated each item here and written it out with comments and numerous examples in order that the reader may be able to judge of its merits

without referring to the text. I shall welcome all criticisms and comments on the rule.

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NOTE

¹ There are, of course, other exceptions to this rule. The grammars all state that, when some word in the sentence is so emphasized as to become the logical subject of the sentence, the reflexive pronoun may be used to refer to this emphatic word rather than to the grammatical subject. Caesar uses this construction in such a sentence as: ... *omnibus Gallis prae magnitudine suorum brevitas nostra contemptui est* (2.30.4). Although I mention this rule to the class, I do not permit them to use it. During the years that I read College Entrance Examinations I can not recall a single instance in which the readers allowed the use of this construction.

There is, also, the special use of the reflexive with *quisque*, but I find that Caesar uses it so seldom that I do not teach it.

READING CICERO AS CICERO WROTE

THE gulf between "Caesar" and "Cicero" in secondary school Latin is wide and deep; wide, because there is a distinct change of subject and literary style; deep, because there are so many unknowns to the student even if we limit our discussion to the rhetorical canons which controlled the composition of the speeches.

To appreciate an oration from the point of view of understanding, a student must know before he begins the study of the oration (1) The circumstances which led to composition and delivery; (2) The place in which it was delivered; (3) The nature of the audience and its mental and emotional state; (4) The circumstance attending the delivery—audience reaction, unusual police precaution and the like; (5) The speaker's preparation for its delivery. Not until the student has a definite picture of the "setting" secured from the above is he psychologically and logically prepared to begin the study of the speech.

In addition to this intellectual preparation, he requires artistic preparation. He must understand the most important canons of rhetoric, else the study and translation of the speech will be similar to the cold solution of

an algebraic equation. The speech is a vibrant organism governed by purpose and the requirements of logic, psychology, language and aesthetics. Hence he must have a slight acquaintance with rhythm, melody, balance, and the prominent figures of speech. The more technical details, he can pick up as he goes along.

Not yet is he ready, unless he appreciates the fact that the speech was primarily oral prose and only secondarily written prose; that its appeal is to the ears, and through them to the imagination, the intelligence, the passions of the audience.

A tough nut to crack! Yet it can be done rapidly if one begins not with Cicero, but by reading Robert G. Ingersoll's "At the Tomb of Napoleon." It is an excellent means of conditioning students for the laws of rhetorical effect. Follow this with the "Gettysburg Address."

Then, remembering that the speech was delivered, not read, and heard, not read, and that Cicero composed it "membratim," to permit the student's ear and mind to become accustomed to distinguishing the "membra." After he has succeeded in this, he has the

key which unlocks the treasures of Cicero's literary style.

It is a mistake to begin Cicero as we ordinarily do, reading by the eye. It is far better for the teacher to "read membratim" while students have books closed, and thus accustom their ears to getting the thought. No Roman ever read his literature visually; it was read to him by a *servus a libro* who had mastered the drudgery of getting the words from the manuscript. One who has seen an ancient manuscript will understand the situation clearly.

As an aid to those who would use this means of introducing Cicero to the beginning third year students, I enclose a "membratim" arrangement of Chapter 1 of the *First Oration against Catiline*, which brings out the staccato nature of that opening. (I am indebted, for this particular arrangement and the one that follows, to Miss Celia Ford, chairman emeritus of the Department of Classical Languages, Girls' High School, Brooklyn, New York.)

The *Manilian Law* also lends itself to presentation "membratim." Lest any one criticize me for being so ancient as to commend the psychology of Cicero, may I refer to the fact that Winston Churchill delivers his speeches "membratim"—from a manuscript written with one sentence to the paragraph!—with plenty of white space between! If this system aids a modern master of the art of persuasion, why should it not be helpful to the tyro? To illustrate a "membratim" reading of a phase of Cicero's style different from the staccato above, I give the arrangement of the *Manilian Law* 24.¹

First Oration Against Catiline

M. TULII CICERONIS
IN L. CATILINAM ORATIO PRIMA
HABITA IN SENATU

I

Catiline's insolence and audacity. Indifference and inaction on the part of both the senate and the consuls. For in spite of precedents they fail to act.

1. Quō ūisque tandem abūtere, Catilina, patientiā nostrā?

Quam diū etiam furor iste tuus nōs ēlūdet?
Quem ad finem sēsē effrēnāta iactābit audācia?

Nihilne tē nocturnum praesidium Palāti,
| nihil urbis vigiliae, | nihil timor populi, |
nihil concursus bonōrum omnium, | nihil hic
mūnitissimus habendī Senatūs locus, | nihil
hōrum ūra vultūsque | mōvērunt?

2. Patēre tua cōnsilia nōn sentis?
Constrictam iam omnium hōrum scientiā
tenēri coniūratiōnem tuam nōn vidēs?

Quid proximā, quid superiore nocte
ēgeris, | ubi fueris, | quōs convocāveris, |
quid cōsiliū cēperis, | quem nostrum ig-
nōrāre arbitrāris?

3. O Tempora! O Mōrēs!

Senatūs haec intellegit; | cōsul videt; |
hic tamen vīvit. | Vīvit? Immō vērō, etiam
in Senatūm venit; | fit pūblici cōsiliū par-
ticipēs; | notat et dēsignat oculis ad caedem
ūnum quemque nostrum.

Nōs autem, fortēs viri, satis facere Rei
Pūblicae vidēmur sī istiū furōrem ac tēla
vītāmus.

Ad mortem tē, Catilina, dūcī iussū cō-
sulis iam pīdem oportēbat, in tē conferri
pestem quam tū in nōs omnīs iam diū mā-
chināris.

4. An vērō vir amplissimus, P. Scipiō, Ponti-
fix Maximus, Ti. Gracchum mediocriter labē-
factantem statum Rei Publicae pīvātus inter-
fēcit?

Catilinam, orbem terrae caede atque in-
cendiis vāstāre cupientem, nōs cōsulēs per-
ferēmus?

Nam illa nimis antiqua præterēd; quod C.
Servilius Ahāla Sp. Maelium, novis rēbus
studentem, manū suā occīdit.

Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hāc Rē Publicā
virtūs ut viri fortēs acrōribus suppliciis
cīvēm perniciōsum quam acerbissimum
hostem coercērent.

Habēmus Senatūs cōsultum in tē, Catilina,
vehemēns et grave. Nōn deest Rei
Pūblicae cōsiliū neque auctōritās huius or-
dinis. Nōs, nōs, dīcō apertē, cōsulēs dē-
sumus.

DE LEGE MANILIO (19)

... ā quō periculō prohibēte Rem Pūblicam;
| Etenim mihi crēdite id quod ipsi vidētis. |

Haec fidēs atque haec ratiō pecūniārum
quae Rōmae, quae in forō versātur, impli-
cāta est cum illis pecūniis Asiāticis et co-
haeret.

Ruere illa non possunt ut haec nōn eōdem
labefacta mōtū concidant.

Quārē vidēte num dubitandum vōbīs sit
omnī studiō ad id bellum incumbere.

In quō glōria nōminis vestrī, salūs soci-
ōrum, vectigālia maxima, fortūnae plūri-
mōrum cīvium coniūcta cum Rē Publicā,
dēfendantur.

CHARLES A. TONSOR, PRINCIPAL

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NOTE

¹ If students are given a few of the beginning pages mimeographed in this arrangement, they soon grasp the process and thereafter need help only now and then with the more difficult passages, which may also be mimeographed.

ED. NOTE: Cicero's *First Catilinarian* "arranged in sense-lines" may be procured from the *Classical Bulletin*, Saint Louis University, Saint Louis 3, Missouri, for 25¢; fifteen copies or more, 20¢ each.

CRAZY COUPLETS

1. "Be you a knight or a baron,
Here's where you ride!" shouted _____
2. Hera heaped loads of abuse
Upon the head of poor _____
3. The water and fog seemed to mix
As we sped through the waves of the _____
4. On a day in an earlier era
Bellerophon slew the _____
5. "I need more oceans to widen
The scope of my rule," cried _____
6. Innumerable "gents" and some ladies
Aeneas encountered in _____
7. "O Son, through the heavens but follow
This path or meet Death," cried _____
8. The soldiers drew back in each sector
As Achilles strode forth to meet _____
9. The suitors who bothered the "Mrs."
Were put in their place by _____

10. "Ulysses, O spare me, have mercy!
Your men I'll restore," pleaded _____
11. Jason with heroes and cargo
To Colchis set sail in the _____
12. Far off in a land of hill-billies
Fair Thetis had hidden _____
13. Cried Paris, "There's really no tellin'
With whom you'll encounter my _____."
14. Said Dido, "No one must see us.
Alone I must be with _____"
15. Cried Zeus, "Not a soul will molest us
Since our weapons are forged by _____
16. The juice of the grape in a crisis
Gives courage," said shrewd _____
17. A blast, as if from a furnace,
Impeded our trip to _____
18. A man and a goat coming later
Is what you will see in a _____
19. "The fears of all men I can heighten
By blowing my trumpet," bragged _____
20. Cried Priam, "The Greeks will not spare
us
And all on account of rash _____"
21. The nymphs all exclaimed, "He's the
berries"
While gazing at war-loving _____
22. Not a boat of the mighty flotilla
Escaped from the hand of dread _____
23. The sailors within those environs
Were lured to their death by the _____
24. The ancients believed all quite stupid
Who shunned the arrows of _____
25. "Things are in a dreadful fix,"
The Helvetians told _____
26. The bravest man in the Trojan sector
Was Priam's son, unlucky _____

KEY

1. Charon, 2. Zeus, 3. Styx, 4. Chimaera, 5. Poseidon, 6. Hades, 7. Apollo, 8. Hector, 9. Ulysses, 10. Circe, 11. Argo, 12. Achilles, 13. Helen, 14. Aeneas, 15. Hephaestus, 16. Dionysus, 17. Avernus, 18. Satyr, 19. Triton, 20. Paris, 21. Ares, 22. Scylla, 23. Sirens, 24. Cupid, 25. Orgetorix, 26. Hector.

FARRAND BAKER

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MY CAESAR CLASS

CAESAR'S account of his years of conquest, *De Bello Gallico* has long met the test that Horace so fervently hoped his works would never need to undergo—that of a textbook in the hands of a school boy. Should that boy be alert, intelligent, and studious, Caesar will stimulate his interest, challenge his intelligence, and augment his knowledge. But on the other hand, though that boy be restive, none too eager for knowledge, and far from brilliant, the Gallic War need not fall on barren soil.

Reading about Caesar's campaigns should be a great adventure for every Latin student—a venture into an unknown wonderland, for the *Commentaries* have a wealth of unexplored information to offer—the annals of the war, the Roman and Gallic method of warfare, the ancient civilizations of the Gauls and Romans, the study of a great Roman character, Caesar, the mastery of the straightforward, clear-cut Latin, the valuable derivative work, and the Latin background material. Let Caesar step forth from the pages of the *Commentaries* a vivid, vital personality, a shrewd politician, a powerful statesman, a writer of forceful Latin, an orator of stirring ability, an inspiring leader of men, a great general.

Since the translation material of the first year and much of the work of the first semester of the second year had been "made Latin," the idea of translating real Latin, Latin actually written by Caesar, one of the great Roman authors, is appealing. The opening lesson, presented by the teacher, can do much to awaken the pupil's interest in Caesar. A biographical sketch of Caesar's life, containing the outstanding and colorful incidents, will throw Caesar into bold relief for the pupil and spur him on to attack his new work with added zest. The time and purpose of writing the wars, the scroll as the form in which the wars were written, and the existing manuscripts will focus the pupil's attention on the *Commentaries* and fittingly orient the work. A large wall map of Europe, which shows Gaul, the numerous Gallic tribes, the

Roman Province, Cis-Alpine Gaul, Illyricum, and Italy, should be available at all times. The pupil cannot comprehend thoroughly the ideas conveyed by the translation when he cannot visualize the places where the action is occurring. A map, drawn by a student and hung on the bulletin board, in which pins may be stuck to trace the daily course of the assigned lessons, will attract many pupils and help them follow the course of events. Many excellent books for reference and for general outside reading are available.¹

The foundation of excellent translating is vocabulary knowledge. A pupil first needs words before he can convey his thoughts. Caesar's vocabulary is primarily that of war; accordingly, new words and idioms must be acquired, for the previous vocabulary has included words of civilian life. Oral drill, short daily written tests, spell-downs, and quarterly tests will accentuate this phase of the work and will aid the pupils in gaining a working vocabulary.

Study of Constructions

THEN the constructions involved in the translation must be comprehended. Since the constructions are multiple, it is too much to expect a pupil to be prepared on all constructions of each lesson. If one chapter has many constructions of the same kind, that one construction can be studied, e.g., passive periphrastic in Chapter 20 of Book II. Otherwise the teacher may assign definite constructions by having the pupils underline the words and write out those constructions for his preparation of the lesson. The ablative absolute, Caesar's favorite construction, is found on almost every page. No one can read Caesar without being able to translate it. Pupils readily learn to regard this construction as a familiar friend.

The translation into Latin of English sentences involving the constructions of the assigned reading in Caesar helps much in clarifying grammatical points. Writing letters to Caesar's soldiers in Latin gives the pupils

an opportunity to use these constructions in everyday English. "Imagine using an indirect question to say that," said one of the boys whom the indirect question had always worried. In writing letters the poorer pupils need to be cautioned against trying to write long involved sentences. For some odd reason the poorer pupils always seem to delight in attempting the most pretentious sentences—sentences which are not even grammatically correct in English. Or, an everyday incident can be given to the pupil to put into Latin. This has the advantage over the letter in that, while the idea is couched in the pupil's method of expression, it can be corrected in class, since all have the same assignment, but it has the disadvantage of not calling for individual work.

Written Preparation

THE LATIN pupil does better work if some daily written preparation is required of him. The feeling of a pupil today seems to be that if no written work is assigned, there is nothing to do. By putting something on paper the pupil can see definitely that he has or has not prepared his lesson. The teacher's problem then is to see that her written assignment requires of her pupils the necessary work. If the pupil has mastered his vocabulary and his constructions and prepared his daily translation, he will be able, in the last quarter or even before that, to do good sight translation, a great satisfaction to himself and a great source of admiration to the poorer pupils.

At the beginning of each recitation the teacher may have a pupil give a report on some event in Caesar's life. The teacher should use her own discretion in assigning a definite event or a certain biography from which the information is obtainable. The following are suggested topics: Caesar's appearance, his wives, his treatment of his soldiers, his attitude toward his friends and enemies, his personal qualities, his reforms, his bankruptcy laws, his sumptuary laws, his horse, his triumphs, his reform of the calendar, his code, his food, his tent, his writings, his crossing the Rubicon, his battles with Pompey and the conspirators, and his death.

The Gauls and their civilization furnish much additional topical material, for the pupils like to know how the Gauls looked, dressed, ate, how they fought, and what type of civilization they had.

Another pupil may briefly summarize the campaign that is being studied. It is often surprising to find how many pupils are able to translate the Latin but have not obtained an idea of the logical sequence of the events and have little idea of the story of a campaign as a unit of Caesar's accomplishment. Still another pupil may write on the board a headline in Latin for the day's translation before the class begins, and then translate the headline for the class and give the news from the front—that day's lesson—when the class period begins. It is surprising how much rivalry and interest such reports arouse among the students. Pupils enjoy measuring their efforts with those of their classmates. A poor member often will be so stimulated that he will give a report as good as one of the best students in the class.

A Latin Newspaper

THE PUPILS enjoy a newspaper. Topics should be assigned at the beginning of the term, e.g. Caesar's friends, Caesar's enemies, Caesar's generals, army life in Caesar's time and now, Caesar's strategy compared with MacArthur's or Patton's or Montgomery's, Was Caesar an imperialist?, Gallic civilization, Gallic methods of fighting versus Caesar's, Germans then and now, Roman food and army, important Roman women, Roman politics, the first triumvirate, the meeting at Lucca, one of the Gallic campaigns. Such festivals as the Saturnalia, birthday of Rome, Valentine day, Ides of March, supply additional material. The pupils enjoy working on an edition of the paper in groups of two or three. As the topic is given out, assign the date when the edition is due. Mimeographed copies of each issue of the paper may be made by the commercial department if the expense of having the paper printed is too heavy. The pupils are willing to expend much effort on a project of this type, for they enjoy turning out something of which they can be proud and

which the rest of the class will enjoy and commend.

Plays given by students of the class or students from the other Latin classes, are always enjoyable. "The School Boy's Dream" is still effective. Dr. Lillian B. Lawler's "A Trip Through Roman History" will call forth gales of laughter. Playlets in Latin awaken the ability to try to understand spoken Latin. For various occasions some members can write their own plays. The pupils enjoy dramatizing the events of Caesar's life.²

Talks by the teacher on Rome, on Italy, and on places in France where some of Caesar's battles occurred, add vividness to the work. Slides to accompany the talk can be secured from various places. Some universities have talks to accompany the slides. Postal cards of the places will help, if slides are not available, to make the places seem real and less imaginary.

The pupils enjoy short talks in Latin on any subject by the teacher. At first the talks should not be more than one or two minutes long. As the stories continue, they can be lengthened. The "Private Life of the Romans" by Johnston and the "Day in Old Rome" by Davis offer ideas for the beginning material. Later on, ideas will occur to every teacher which will furnish good talks. The talks give the pupils a feeling for Latin as it was spoken by the ancient Romans in connected discourse. Interesting daily school events make the pupil feel the flexibility of Latin and supply an added stimulus for studying in order to secure the meaning from the spoken Latin.

Special Projects

FOR EACH grading period the teacher should require some special project. For the first quarter a book with a Caesar or Latin background may be required, such as "The Standard Bearer," "The Last Days of Pompeii," etc. The report on the book may be oral or written in class depending on the time the class has for the work. If the reports are oral in class or after school, the teacher will have to give definite questions and have material well organized to save time. If the re-

ports are written, the teacher should take some time of the period when the reports are returned to discuss the salient points of the various books upon which reports have been made. After the corrected reports have been examined, they should be returned to the teacher, to eliminate the possibility of their being used by on-coming Caesar pupils.

For the second quarter a project on some phase of the Caesar work is appropriate—a poster or drawings of events of Caesar's life, a playlet in Latin or English on Caesar's life, a movie or a radio program, a model of a Roman theater with slides or puppets to dramatize Caesar's life or one of the campaigns, slides of Roman army life, posters or models of the Roman artillery, models or drawings of the officers in a Roman army, army life, a Roman camp, a Roman private, Roman offensive and defensive weapons.²

For the third quarter the pupils may work out projects on Caesar as a general, Caesar as a statesman, Caesar as an orator, and Caesar as a writer. These may be written or oral reports, demanding outside reading, or pictorial reports of the material read or even a dramatic report.

For the last quarter individual work one can use the theme on "How Latin Has Helped Me." Miss Sabin's book is an excellent aid in this connection.³ If the teacher sees fit she can make separate divisions of the topic as Miss Sabin has done, i.e. how Latin has helped me in English, in science, in music, etc. The pupils enjoy getting some prominent persons' idea of how Latin has helped them also to reinforce their statements.

If the teacher will keep the best work of each project, she will have soon much material which will lend the Latin room a classical atmosphere and will furnish a great incentive to the future classes of Caesar. If the name of the student who made the object is put on the project, it will increase interest in the projects.

Though many pupils leave Latin at the end of the work on Caesar, there should not be a pupil in the class who has not found one phase at least of the work which has interested him and made him feel that his brief

study of Latin has been of value. It is not unusual to find that one of the poorer pupils at the close of the term is one of the best advocates of Latin.

The *Gallic Wars* are interesting and worthwhile. Caesar can be made to live in the minds and hearts of the Latin pupils.

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NOTES

¹ For a complete bibliography, see Dorrance S. White, *The Teaching of Latin* (Chicago, Scott Foresman, 1940).

² For teaching aids, playlets, visual materials, etc., address The Edith Cook Projects, Westtown, Pennsylvania; The American Classical League Service Bureau, Vanderbilt University, Nashville 4, Tennessee. Also valuable: *Iris*, a book of 3650 titles from nine classical periodicals from their first issues to 1941. Order from *The Classical Bulletin*, St. Louis University, St. Louis 3, Missouri.

³ Sabin, Francis E., *The Relation of Latin to Practical Life*, may be ordered from M. R. Sabin Jonesboro, Tennessee.

LATIN NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED¹

ALTHOUGH some high-school Latin Newspaper staffs found it necessary to reduce the number of pages or the number of issues of their publications during the war, a large number of Latin newspapers has been sent to our office this year. Teachers have found this project well worth the effort since through such activity pupils see for themselves that Latin is a living, usable language in which they can express themselves adequately with a special kind of satisfaction and pleasure. Those who have directed the output of these papers have also seen how much favorable interest they have attracted among the general student body and in the community at large.

Some of these newspapers we feel to be old friends as they serve generation after generation of students; others we greet on their first appearance and wish prosperity and continued vigor in the future. Those reviewed below represent a great variety of purpose, type, and format, and prove that with a large department and funds available through student effort or friendly supporters a really impressive publication can be issued; while those with small classes and the minimum of means have found that a very modest sheet, of perhaps only a page or two, reproduced by Mimeograph or Ditto duplicator, can be the source of just as stimulating a motivation and quite as real a pride and joy in accomplishment as the more elaborate papers. The project, by its very nature, is

also a capital means of "integration" of the students' interests when their contributions are broad in content, draw on their artistic talent, typing ability, and resources in "managing." Whatever may be said of the pedagogical values of the Latin newspaper, the finished products tend to show that they require considerable effort but are also a great deal of fun. We take this opportunity to thank all who have sent us copies; we have enjoyed reading them and wish you continued success.

AQUILA, Passionist Preparatory Seminary, Normandy, Missouri, is a twenty-four page booklet with a handsome printed cover and neatly mimeographed pages made attractive by art work reproduced by the duplicator method. The staff consists of an Editor, Ad-jutor, Artifex, Typographus, and Mimeographi. A "Vocabularium" on the last pages facilitates the reading of the all-Latin text, which includes interesting short articles, a department of illustrated "Joci," and interspersed classical quotations and proverbs.

CLASSICUM MANITOBIENSE, prepared by the Classics Department of the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada, made its appearance in March, 1945, when it was first published by the Classics Section, manitoba Educational Association, of which Professor Edmund G. Berry was president. In mimeographed form, this leaflet performs a real

service in bringing announcements and items of classical interest to all the teachers of Latin in Manitoba.

DIURNA CLASSIS CAESARIS, Garnett High School, Garnett, Kansas, proves that even the paper shortage and reduced size of classes need not discourage the output of a good little paper. These two modest but neatly mimeographed sheets, issued three times a year, adequately report the lively activities of the Caesar Class in its chapter of the Junior Classical League, run interesting items and cross-word puzzles in Latin—features that make it a popular paper for "exchange." Mrs. Hazel K. Pullman is the sponsor.

DOMINI CANIS is a handsomely printed, four-page, all-Latin paper published four times a year by the Vergil students of the Dominican High School, Detroit, Michigan. Contributors and sponsors may well be proud of the expressions of appreciation and congratulation which their excellent paper has merited from discriminating readers over the country. Writing under the motto, "Hodie sequimur, Cras ducimus," these students are already leaders in publications of this nature. They are both fortunate in and deserving of the support of the some four hundred "Patrons of Classical Literature" named in one of the issues. Timely, significant cuts add much to this publication, which is distinguished by the excellence of its Latin.

Ex DISCIPULIS is an attractively printed, four-page, all-Latin paper comprising "a compilation of some of the current original translations by the classical students of Central Catholic High School, Pittsburgh, Pa., during the scholastic year ending June, 1945." Gratitude is expressed "to Dr. James Stinchcomb of the University of Pittsburgh for his generous cooperation and helpful suggestions in the preparation of this paper." Each number of **Ex DISCIPULIS** meets a high standard in the excellence of its Latin, the choice of its selections, and the dignity of its format. Among the many interesting Latin transla-

tions in the current issue are those of William Lyon Phelps' "Borrowed Books"; Ernie Pyle's "Challenge to Civilians"; Abraham Lincoln's Letter to Mrs. Bixby; The Atlantic Charter; and the American Creed. Included on the page of Songs, are Latin translations of such popular favorites as "Always," "Stardust," "Don't Fence Me In," and "Home on the Range."

LANTERNA is an entertaining little leaflet compiled and edited by the students of The University of Akron, Ohio, under the direction of Professor Arthur M. Young, for the students of Latin in the high schools of Akron and vicinity. Over 1600 copies of the first issue, December 1944, were sold, which encouraged the issuance of subsequent numbers. Each is introduced to its youthful readers by an editorial letter in Latin by Professor Young, inviting them to enjoy the reading of *Lanterna* and to continue their study of Latin in college. An effective page in the first number was made up a "University Print" of the "Alice Freeman Palmer Memorial" (Number H 138) pasted on the sheet and followed by Austin Dobson's "Virgibus Puerisque."

THE LATIN LEAFLET, issued by the Department of Classical Languages in conjunction with the Texas Classical Association in the interest of Latin teaching in the high schools of Texas, was edited in 1945 by Mrs. Ernestine F. Leon, with W. J. Battle, H. J. Leon, Mrs. Minnie Lee Shepard, and Anna Gardner (*ex officio* as president of the Texas Classical Association) as associate editors. The "Latin Week Number," edited by Mrs. Shepard of the Educational Policies Committee, Classical Association of the Middle West and South, featured the outstanding Latin Week activities of nine schools, with pictures of participants and exhibits. This celebration, April 16-20, 1945, observed a Caesar Bimillennium (55 B.C.-1945 A.D.) as "the beginning of the 2000th anniversary of Caesar's invasion of Britain, the subsequent Romanization of Britain, and the ultimate Greco-Roman-Christian civilization of the Western World." With the slogan, "Ad fontem redeamus!"

the two-fold objective was stated as "A return to the Fountain":

1. By setting forth, in as vivid and attractive way as possible for all to see, the enrichment of our civilization through the classical influence upon our language, literature, arts, laws, and political institutions.

2. By presenting war bonds to the Texas Classical Association for the establishment of a membership in perpetuity at the American Academy in Rome for the University of Texas, that its students may attend its courses without charge and compete for its fellowships. Although there was no regular state meeting of the Texas Classical Association, and although the Latin Tournament was suspended during the four war years, the Latin Leaflet performed a great service in helping the Association to continue to function and the teachers to keep in touch with each other. (University Publications, The University of Texas, at Austin. Price ten cents.)

THE LATIN NEWS-LETTER, "published in the interests of the Latin teachers of Minnesota by the Department of Classics of the University of Minnesota, appears three times a year" and may be obtained from John L. Heller. Announcement of Classical Conferences and lists of Latin teachers in the state together with notices of their activities make this bulletin, now in its seventh year, one of continued usefulness.

LATINUS RUMOR, Webster Groves, Missouri, High School, now in its nineteenth volume of monthly issues, is one of the liveliest papers that has come to our desk. Heartiest congratulations, Miss Hazel K. Farmer, for the outstanding work you are doing in sponsoring this exuberant paper and for the vitality of your teaching which is reflected in both the spirit and content of *Latinus Rumor*. Love of Latin, energy, originality, and novel art work combine to make this a splendid paper. How many Vergil classes hold an annual reunion as has become the custom for those of Webster Groves High School? Congratulations on the honors

carried off a year ago when one of your number, participating in the annual Latin contests at Washington University, placed first in Vergil, another second, and still another placed first in Cicero! And still another received a certificate of Honorable Mention in the nation-wide verse writing contest sponsored by *The Classical Outlook*. No wonder your alumni, now at college or in the service, remember their Vergil class with pride and pleasure and take the trouble to write a word of appreciation, as Ed Knetzger did in this letter from Germany:

Dear Miss Farmer:—When I was in France I had an experience which made me immediately think of you and your part in my five years of Latin. . . . I happened along as a French priest was trying to make himself understood by one of our officers. The officer himself wasn't too sharp at French, so when he asked me to interpret, I told the priest that I could speak a little Latin. So for the next fifteen minutes or so I struggled with long unused subjunctives, participles, etc., and we got along famously. Little did I realize as I boned over Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, Catullus, Lucretius, Ovid, Tibullus, and Propertius, that I'd some day have a practical use for Latin in the Army. However, I can now add one more selling point to the long list which has so often made it self known to me.

Or, again, the gratifying letter from Carl Traubernicht, of the Vergil class of '41, written from the Marana, Arizona, Basic Flying School:

You have no idea how much the education I was fortunate enough to have means to me now. I have little or no trouble with these "theory ground school courses that give so many of the boys headaches. Weather includes a study of clouds, which bothers so many Cadets because of the names given to clouds and cloud formations, (cumulus, stratus, nimbus, cirrus, and combinations of them, like the cumulo-nimbus and the alto-stratus). Most names of clouds are quite common Latin words and my background in Latin has helped me tremendously. Latin was made inspiring and interesting for me and I am grateful for it.

News of alumni is indeed a valuable feature of *Latinus Rumor*. The hand-painted cover design on the December issue each year

is especially effective, quite in keeping with the spicy "Rumor Humor" and unusual crossword puzzles interspersed among the more serious items.

NUNC ET TUNC, handsomely printed booklet ($6\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$) of the Latin Classes of Waco High School, Waco, Texas, is in its Volume xxii! The contributors and their adviser, Miss Elor Osborn, are to be congratulated on this splendid publication. The issue of October, 1945, carried an "Ode to Prometheus" (by Martha Lou Miller, 12 B) on the cover and contained the following thoughtful and stimulating articles: Latin in the News, Fires and Fire Prevention in Ancient Rome, From Private to General (a well-developed word study of the words private, corporal, lieutenant, captain, colonel, and general), Trained Animals, Demobilization of Roman Soldiers (citing the Roman equivalent of our G.I. Bill of Rights!), Roman Labor Unions, Meet the Gauls, Travel-Minded, Stories of Trees, and Roman Welfare. The cover of the December issue was printed in seasonal green and carried "Salutatio de Sancto Nicholas," an entertaining Latin-English version of "The Night Before Christmas" (Gloria Nail, 12 B). The numbers are uniform in their high standard of content and make-up; and this department is gratified for the regularity with which copies have been sent.

THE NUNTIUS, annual publication of the Latin students of Little Rock, Arkansas, Senior High School, does great credit to its Praeceptores, Miss Essie Hill and Mrs. Ann B. Chandler. Volume xxi maintained the high standard of content and appearance which readers have come to expect of this paper, handsomely set up and printed in ten three-column pages. The issue of April 1945 had for its theme: "Pro Illis Nostrorum Qui supremum sacrificium fecerunt, et Pro Nostris Qui Auroram Pacis Exspectant." Appropriate to this theme, and most attractive, was the front-page cut of Guido Reni's famous painting "Aurora," under the ribbon heading of Vergil's "Aurora interea miseris mortalibus albam extulerat lucem, referens opera atque

labores." Readers were glad to find a cut of the members of the Junior Classical League, 1944, as it is a pleasure to see the faces of those so active in classical studies and those listed on the "Inter Nos" page as carrying off so many of the school's honors in scholarship and activities. An especially commendable feature of this paper is the items devoted to the Latin programs of the Pulaski Heights, West Side, and East Side Junior high schools. Among the many timely articles was a page devoted to the school's former Latin students in service, "Names That Bring Back the Classic Centuries" (e.g. Anzio, once Antium, capital of the Volscians), "Importance of Agriculture Ancient and Modern," and "Cato and F. D. Roosevelt." Once more, our congratulations to the enterprising students who publish this paper and to their sponsors.

P.E.P.F.S. We were much interested to receive the first number of this paper from the IX-A Latin pupils of Miss Mildred Simmons, John D. Pierce Junior High School, Grosse Pointe, Michigan. The title was explained as follows:

Fecimus nostrum nomen ex ordinibus Romano-rum Societatum. P est ex ordine Patricio. Nostrí Patricii sunt illi qui "A's" merebant. E est ex ordine Equestre. Nostrí equestres sunt illi qui "B's" merebant. P est ex ordine Plebeio. Nostrí Plebii sunt illi qui "C's" merebant. F est ex ordine Libertino. Nostrí libertini sunt illi qui erant servi sed se liberaverunt. S est ex servis. Nostrí servi sunt illi qui opus sub "C" faciebant. Ita—*P-E-P-F-S.* Si vos nostram chartam ametis, scribite nobis. Alias Chartas recipere cupimus. (Paddy Haas 9 A)

Among a variety of items are a number of original couplets defining the parts of speech (e.g. "A noun is a name of a person, place or thing, as Drew Pearson, airbase, or string") and giving rules for the formation of Latin verbs (e.g. "The imperative is easy as you can see: Use the stem as portā, vidē, and audi"). This paper is produced by the "Ditto" process.

ROMAN SCANDALS, Ridgeway, Pennsylvania, High School, appears eight times a

year. Miss Margaret Lauder, adviser, and her students are to be congratulated on their splendid ten-to-fifteen page mimeographed paper which, begun in 1934, will soon be in its 'teens. The special features and news coverage, regularly in Latin, put this paper in the class of an all-school paper, while short articles on classical themes, in English, give even the beginners an opportunity to contribute. A list of the editors and assistants indicates the scope of *Roman Scandals*: David Gallup, editor-in-chief, two assistant editors, and special editors for school activities, "personals," "oddities," exchanges; a cover artist, and Latin I and Latin II assistants. One number this last year has had a Freshman Page, another a Junior High Page, while special features of each issue include the "Haruspex" who utters prophecies for various students, the "Little Nero" cartoon, "Ancient Oddities" accompanied by lively

drawings, an ingenious Puzzle Page, and many others. Thank you for putting us on your mailing list; we look forward to every number. (Single copy, five cents; annual subscription, thirty cents.)

A STORY BOOK of Miss Mildred Simmon's Latin IX A classes, John D. Pierce Junior High School, Grosse Pointe, Michigan, put out in the spring of 1945, is a credit to its staff of twenty-seven members. Eleven pages of selected student compositions based on Aesop's Fables, witticisms, and proverbs make lively reading which is matched by a gay yellow cover of construction paper decorated with masks and a meander border.

G. L. B.

NOTE

¹ For previous notices, see "Hints for Teachers," THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL 36 (1941), 596; 37 (1942), 548; 39 (1943), 125; 40 (1944), 115-122.

Editorial Comment

Loci Classici

IN the preceding issue of this JOURNAL we observed the melancholy office—one that has been distressingly frequent this year—of publishing the laudatio funebris of a distinguished classical scholar. It seemed to us entirely fitting that this office, in the case of Edward Kennard Rand, should be performed in Latin, the language of the humanists, and we were gratified that an old friend and former student of Professor Rand was willing and able to carry out the *postremum munus mortis*.

While we felt that Latin was the language in which to mourn and, at the same time, to pay tribute to a great scholar, the printing of a substantial piece of original Latin coincides

with what we believe should be a part of our editorial policy, namely, that Latin is not a foreign language in THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL. In this connection we have been gratified to find that the printing of *Loci Classici* has met with general approval (even if the proofreading has not). Our purpose in running these selections from Latin authors, we must admit, is primarily to solve a technical problem, that of finding appropriate "filler" for the fractional pages left in the make-up of the departments and major articles. But at the same time, we hope that they will serve to remind our readers of well-beloved authors, or persuade them to read a little new Latin from time to time.

In the May issue of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL:

COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY AND PRE-HISTORY

by Donald McFayden

CURRENT EVENTS

THE CLASSICS AT INDIANA

Committee on Educational Policies

THE Committee on Educational Policies of CAMWS would like to call attention to a vigorously-worded bulletin entitled "The Classics at Indiana University" issued in November, 1945, in the form of a *News-Letter*. On the front page is a letter by President H. B. Wells "To the Friends of Education in Indiana." After speaking of the importance of the present educational trend toward a renewed emphasis upon the Humanities, President Wells says, "The University [Indiana] must not become exclusively vocational and professional." He then invites those interested in Indiana education to write him concerning the views set forth in this *News-Letter*.

The Classics Committee was composed of ten members of the faculty, four of them from the department of Classics, the remainder from the departments of Fine Arts, Philosophy, History, and English. The chairman was from the department of History; the secretary from the department of Classics.

The subjects discussed are as follows: Meaning of the Term "Classics"; Reasons for the Contemporary Status of the Classics; Current Educational Trends; The Place of the Classics in a Liberal Education; Vital Dependence of the Humanities in General upon the Classics; Conclusions and Recommendations for Strengthening Classical Studies at Indiana University.

The substance of the first four of these six topics is that generally found in similar expositions concerning classical studies, with an evidently harmonious agreement among all departments of the college represented on the Committee. But in the third section of the fifth topic the Committee steps up to the plate and connects with this long one into deep center:

"Rather, we mean to emphasize that in many realms of thought, such as Ethics, Logic, Politics, Art, and Literature, the contributions of Classical Antiquity have formed and continue to form the modes of thought and expression and have formulated and continue to formulate basic ideas and ideals for succeeding generations down to our own time. *Before challenging the validity of these contributions, the man of intellectual integrity must first understand them* (italics mine). Consequently, Plato, Aristotle, Euripides, Thucydides, and the masterpieces of Greek art form a vital part of our intellectual heritage which no one who pretends to a liberal education can honestly ignore."

Liberal Studies

AFTER urging recognition of the contribution made by classical studies to a general education, the Committee states this (in italics):

"Therefore, the Committee urges that the University boldly undertake to stress the value of humanistic studies and thus lead the way in directing national education trends and shaping future policy, and that plans for future expansion and reorganization of the University emphasize the importance of the College as the nucleus of liberal and humanistic studies."

The Committee then recommends the following course of action:

"Such a genuine, vigorous liberal arts program requires not only the cooperation of administration and faculty, but the active assistance of all friends of the University. Specifically, this program can be given active support by inducing capable boys and girls in high school to follow a course of study which early will lay the foundation for a strong liberal arts program in college. Further, the Committee believes that well prepared students will be influenced to continue their classical studies on the college level by the creation of a rather considerable number of Classics-Humanities scholarships for freshmen and sophomores at Indiana University. . . ."

D. S. W.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE CONFERENCE

Northwestern State College

NORTHWESTERN State College, Natchitoches, Louisiana, in connection with the nationally renewed emphasis on foreign languages, is holding a Foreign Language Conference on May 3 and 4, with Professor B. L. Ullman, Kenan Professor of Classical Languages, University of North Carolina, and Professor James B. Tharp, Professor of the Teaching of Foreign Languages, Ohio State University, as the principal speakers. The theme of the Conference will be "The Renaissance of Foreign Language Study," and each of the principal speakers will deliver

three lectures; and, in addition, there will be an administrators' panel on "The Place of Foreign Languages in the Modern High School" and papers by a number of teachers from the colleges and high schools of Louisiana and the surrounding states.

Anyone desiring a copy of the program, which will be ready about April 1, should write Professor Jonah W. D. Skiles, Director of the Foreign Language Conference, Box 1135, Northwestern State College, Natchitoches, Louisiana.

TOWARD EXPLICITNESS IN THE LATIN CONTROVERSY

DR. I. L. Kandel, in *School and Society*, December 1, 1945, p. 359, remarks:

"If the only argument that the (Harvard) committee could advance for the study of the foreign languages is that it would contribute to the improvement of English, the pages where the topic is discussed could well have been omitted."

It is not very satisfactory to speculate on Dr. Kandel's meaning on the basis of this abrupt and imperfect assertion, but as it is all he gives us there is no choice but to do so. He seems to imply that the only solid reason for attention to the foreign languages is the securing of direct approaches to foreign thought. It appears indeed quite possible, as one tries to read between the lines, that he attaches little essential importance to Latin and Greek and modern foreign tongues as English-language auxiliaries.

His point of view (if I have not missed it too far) is, at least as it relates to Latin, under the most favorable interpretation at variance with that of the legal profession in our country. "Pre-Law Education," published in 1942 by the Executive Committee of the Association of American Law Schools, cites (6) as one of the seven objectives of a plan of study that "will assure adequate foundations for a

broad culture:"

"An introduction to Latin as the basis of modern language and the cultivation of at least one modern language other than English to a point at which it can be used freely in reading." (Italics mine.)

And the Ohio State University's "Suggestions on Pre-Legal Training," 1942 affirms that

"... the study of a foreign literature broadens a student's intellectual horizon, deepens his understanding of human nature, and contributes especially to a knowledge of fundamental English." (Italics mine.)

The professors of law, then, to judge by these and other evidences that I have examined (see "Latin, Law and Medicine," *The Educational Forum*, January, 1945), regard the purely linguistic and literary results of foreign-language study as the ones for primary consideration.

To attain to good English one has not only to undergo a thorough course of tinkering with English. He must also find pleasure in the process if, like any other genuine mechanic, he is to become a master-worker. And the foreign languages of the western world, especially Latin, are the aids that most

effectively inspire to this end. The unobtrusiveness of their contributions of power toward language analysis and general language sufficiency makes them far superior in essential points of view to dictionaries of English and works of rhetoric. An unmodified "head-on" method of teaching English is as objectionable as the same principle for learning foreign languages, such as the pretentious but limited "army" way of recent memory. Only under the most fortunate after-conditions, including continuance in a literary as well as linguistic sense in the graduate schools, may students under such a dispensation emerge as full-blown. We teachers on the firing line, as opposed to the swivel-chair strategists and the easy-going researchers, know only too well the student-variety that, insensitive to words through by-passing of their inner beauty and connotations, grow pale at the bare mention of literature.

Another specific case of provoking indecisiveness in relation to this language business is found in the writing of Mr. Max J. Herzberg, who edits *Word Study* for the publishers of the Webster dictionaries. In Vol. xiv, No. 5, March, 1939, p. 6, he says:

"Methods of vocabulary enrichment are myriad. Some are time-honored. Some are fundamental. But there is no one magically effortless way to attain a good and serviceable vocabulary. Enrichment of the vocabulary requires resolution and work and constant curiosity, but should be rewarding in itself. It is not possible to learn all the various shades of meaning of a word at one time. Only gradually can one discover the literary and emotional, almost poetic, value of words."

But he leaves us totally in the dark on

what methods are "fundamental." I, at least, will blaze a path by saying that in all certainty one does not "discover the literary and emotional, almost poetic, value of words" by mere thumbing of the native dictionary.

Mr. Herzberg notes vocabulary improvement from "translation," calls that method "time-honored," and lets it go at that. Is he issuing a compliment; or is he not? To most present-day professional educators "time-honored" smacks of the "traditionalism" they despise and ridicule.

He further remarks:

"Because the study of Latin and Greek have lost their prominent place in the curriculum, the student of today often requires special training in the word roots from those languages which go to make up many English words."

Indeed the student does! But such training, while better than nothing as a veneer, represents only a last resort, a forlorn hope of salvaging a little something out of a misspent linguistic and literary life.

But to return to the words of Dr. Kandel. To his *apparent* attitude should be opposed that of Mr. Franklin P. Adams (*School and Society*, September 26, 1942, p. 272):

"How a teacher can hope to teach French or Spanish or English without Latin, I don't know."

Dr. Kandel will also find arrayed against him that goodly company, *the entire body of American graduate professors of English*.

A. M. WITHERS

Concord College
Athens, W. Va.

Committee on Educational Policy

LATIN WEEK REPORTS REQUESTED

Teachers in the territory of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South who participated in the celebration of Latin Week this year are requested by the Committee on Educational Policy to forward an account of their programs to their State Committeeman. It is important that the Committee have statistics on the number of schools participating, and it will be useful for all teachers

who may take part in future Latin Weeks to have available a manual of possible activities based on the suggestions of all who have participated in the past.

A list of state members of the Committee on Educational Policy may be found in the November, 1945, issue of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, page 86.

BOOK REVIEWS

CAESAR AND CHRIST

WILL DURANT, *Caesar and Christ: A History of Roman Civilization and of Christianity from their beginnings to A.D. 325*: New York, Simon and Schuster, (1944). Pp. xvi+751. \$5.00.

There are many praiseworthy features in this popular survey. Despite numerous jolts to the pedantic, the style is pleasant and eminently readable, occasionally marred by regrettable attempts at epigram, yet not without humor; a style, in short, exactly calculated to please the audience for which the book is principally intended. It is above all a narrative style, for the book is a history of external events, not of ideas: the impact of Christianity upon the classical world-outlook is not treated in the manner of C. N. Cochrane. Durant has organized a huge number of facts in a highly competent manner: he is never incoherent, never confused, even in the chapters on Roman manners, which, in less experienced hands, might well have degenerated into a muddle: long practice has made the author an expert in selection. It is these chapters which will prove the freshest and the most attractive to the general reader—accounts of Roman life à la Friedländer, Roman art and architecture, Roman crafts and trades, Roman literature. Durant is fond of analogies between ancient and modern life; most topical of these is his list of ceiling-prices (p. 643, ftn.) established by Diocletian: using 1944 values of U. S. currency, he quotes prices for a long list of products ranging from dormice (10 for 35¢) to Latin professors (\$1.84 per pupil per month). The footnotes are relegated to pages 681–702, a good idea, under the circumstances, but an unmitigated nuisance to the student. The index (by Mr. Arnold Canell) is, so far as I have tested it, excellent.

But the extensive documentation—44 columns of references to ancient and modern authors—implies that the book is also in-

tended to be read and tested by more advanced students; the number and the elementary nature of the mistakes—and the present list is very far from being complete—are not justified by the modesty of the preface. The documentation itself is frequently inaccurate: the references for notes 28 to 33 in Chapter 16 have disappeared entirely from pages 690–691; references given in full are often wrong (e.g. Caes., *Bell Civ.*, III, 88 on p. 685 should be III, 99); a reference to "Plutarch, Cicero" or "Cicero, *Letters* VII, 1" leads to much page-thumbing.

Cicero fares badly at Durant's hands: on p. 161, he is denied legal acumen; his possession of villas "seems outrageous in a philosopher" (162) who is elsewhere termed "this unctuous Talleyrand of the pen" (195). It is not clear why Durant thinks that Cicero was "too prudent to relish Lucretius" (102); he implies on p. 141 that Archias was the chief or only tutor of Cicero's youth, and states on p. 142 that Cicero was elected consul "by acclamation," on p. 162 that "nearly all" the *Letters* were dictated to a secretary, on p. 163 that Cicero defended Archias "in his youth," and on p. 173 that it was Cicero, not Quintus, who made the guarantees which made the return from exile possible. On p. 378, in a description of performances of mimes, appears the startling statement that "Cicero found brides there, and they found him." It is not "only the simple beauty of their style" which redeems the philosophical works today (166), but the fact that without them our knowledge of post-Aristotelian philosophy would contain more gaps than fact. On p. 510, Philodemus is referred to as the "philosophic mentor of Cicero."

Caesar's birth is still 100 B.C. on p. 167, and, like a Henty hero, he dreams of the conquest of Gaul even in boyhood (*loc. cit.*). It is alleged on p. 176 that we do not know why Caesar invaded Britain. We are told on

p. 178 that Rome "discovered in him a major historian"; but C. H. Beeson (in CP, 35 [1940], 113) has shown that the *Commentaries* were never popular. It is too sweeping to declare that the impossible number 200 in *Bell. Civ.* 3, 99 "casts doubt upon all his works" (186). It was not entirely "unprecedented insolence" (195) when Caesar's head appeared on coins. It is not true that Gaul was not called *Gallia* before Caesar's time (471); it is not certain that the Belgae were predominantly Teutonic (472), nor is it true that it was Caesar who gave the name *Britanni* to the Britons (475).

Varro's *de Re Rustica* should not be called a contribution to Augustus' agrarian policy (159). A few comments on Latin poetry are inaccurate. On p. 246 no indication is given that some of the *Epodes* are early productions. Durant is unaware (249, ftn.) of the period which Ludwig Traube called the *aetas Horatiana*. "Lordly" is not a good adjective to apply to Horace's style (154), and Lucretius is by no means "timid" (146). Augustus' government did not frown on erotic poetry (253), nor is such verse to be interpreted as any sort of "revolt" (252). Durant refuses (334) to credit the references of Juvenal and Ovid to feminine cruelty. It is incorrect to say that Ovid "laughed at the *Aeneid*" (254), and that the *Amores* and *Ars Amatoria* are "unworthy of a man" (258); Ovid himself would be amused to hear that he "lost his head to a pretty courtesan" (254). Seneca's plays did not serve "as a model for the first dramas in modern speech" (302), and few would agree that his *Letters* are written in "delectable Latin" (304). Agricola (476) was not Tacitus' son-in-law. Most modern critics would not agree that the *Germania* is primarily either political or satirical in aim (434). The fact that Pliny took his uncle's name has not "caused confusion for 2,000 years" (439), and it was as *legatus pro praetore*, not as *curator* (409), that Pliny went to Asia Minor. On p. 317, Durant implies that Martial's *Epigrams* possess Ovidian polish, and on p. 318 calls them "technically perfect": they scan. Martial's reply to Parthenius (8. 23) is misinterpreted

(316). Nerva, not Hadrian, is referred to in the epigrams cited on p. 415 (8. 70; 9. 26). It was Strato (not Strabo) who compiled the *Mousa* (not *Musa*) *Paidikē* (509, ftn.).

March 12 is not the third day before the Ides (66). *Censor moralium* (136) is bad Latin, as are a good many other terms used. "Symphonies" (135) is hardly the word in Cic., *pro Caelio*, 15, 35. *Inventio* is translated as "conception" on p. 314, and *narratio* is omitted from the parts of a speech. On p. 404, *infamia* is translated as "speechlessness," and on p. 409 *ex omnibus* is wrongly translated. Durant uses "Caius" over 30 times, "Gaius" 11 times, "Cnaeus" 3 times, and "Gnaeus" twice. "The increasing god" will not do as a translation of Augustus (218). There is no etymological connection between *ovatio* and *ovis* (82), and none between *germanus* and *Germanus* (478). *Annus* is perhaps connected with *anulus*, but even so cannot mean "ring," nor does *Anna Perenna* mean "the ring of the years" (65 and 67). "Rubbing, copies" is not a translation for διβτριβαλ (490). On p. 571 *eucharistiae* is an odd transliteration of εὐχαριστῆσαι (Mark 14. 23).

On p. 94 Scipio Africanus is confused with Scipio Nasica, and on p. 130 the father of the triumvir Crassus with L. Licinius Crassus. It is not correct to say (477) that during the Roman occupation of Britain "a stream of Latin words flowed into English (sic) speech," and it is most unusual to allege (448) that the Roman Empire lacked unity of culture and language. Lictors (114) did not attend tribunes. *Volumina* (159) did not have pages. Milan (454) was not a "metropolis" in the time of Vergil. The statement (393) that praetors "were allowed . . . to make new [laws]" is misleading. It is doubtful whether music played as great a part in Roman life as is stated on p. 381. The Romans were surely no more litigious (401) than were the Greeks.

Misprints are fairly common, some of them rather odd: presumably "trolls" (297) is for "trulls."

W. LEONARD GRANT
The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

ROMAN BANQUET

IN May, 1945, in response to students' pleas and in spite of rationing difficulties, the Latin department of Emma Willard School held its second annual Roman Banquet.

This banquet at the home of Marcus Tullius Cicero followed the wedding of Tullia and Piso, a Latin playlet adapted from the latter part of Susan Paxson's "A Roman Wedding," presented by the members of the Cicero class. The pupils of Latin 1 acting as slaves served the guests in the "triclinium." The Roman "gentlemen" reclined; the ladies were more comfortably able to eat of the delicious three-course dinner—gustatio, cena, secunda mensa, including mustaceum. The customary silver salt-cellars, along with Roman lamps and flowers, provided decoration for the tables. At each place was a small scroll with the Latinized name of the banqueter on the outside and the Latin menu on the inside.

There was an invocation in Latin and the wreathing of the wine-bowl with the recitation of a few lines from Horace; Latin songs were sung between courses; and the cena was enjoyed the more in that modern utensils were not provided. The program following the banquet included Latin songs sung by individuals and groups, a beautiful classic dance (thanks to the help of the Physical Education department) and a dozen charades prepared and enacted by members of the Virgil class. These included easy numbers like "Iacta est alea" and "Et tu, Brute" as well as more ambitious dramatics for "O tempora, o mores" and "Arma virumque cano."

Perhaps the most amusing feature of the evening was the wedding-procession, led, in accordance with tradition, by flute-players. This served the secondary purpose of giving the rest of the school a glimpse of the Latin faculty and students in Roman garb, a most entertaining sight.

The merry and memorable evening ended with the bride's being lifted over the threshold of her new home and the company's singing, in good American fashion, the Latin version of "Auld Lang Syne."

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